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# BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

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## CONTENTS

### ARTICLES :

AN EXPERIENTIAL APPROACH TO THE BHAGAVAD-GITA	K. M. MUNSHI	1
INDUS CIVILIZATION	A D PUSALKER	21
KAVINDRA PARAMĀNANDA AND KĒLADI BASAVABHOPALA	P. K. GODE	40
ĀJIVIKA SECT—A NEW INTERPRETATION	A. S. GOPANI	47
SIRICIMDHAKAVVAM OF KṚṢṆALILĀSUKA	A. N. UPADHYE	60
ANCIENT INDIA AND THE OUTER WORLD	S D. GYANI	77
MAHAVIRA AS THE IDEAL TEACHER OF THE JAINAS	AMULYACHANDRA SFN	87
BHARADVAJAS' HYMNS TO AGNI	MANILAL PATEL	90

### MISCELLANEA :

THE ELEVENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE	M. P.	99
THE FOURTEENTH SESSION OF GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD SAMMELAN	M. P.	100
THE THAKKAR VASSONJI MADHAVJI LECTURES (1941)		100

REVIEWS :	A. D. PUSALKER, PRABHUDAS C. SHAH, HARIVALLABH BHAYANI, HARILAL PANDYA AND A. S. GOPANI	103
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NOTES OF THE BHAVAN :		107
-----------------------	--	-----



# PUBLICATIONS

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The following works are *in the Press* for publication  
by the Bhavan.

तरुणप्रभ	.. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>
उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण	.. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>
RIGVEDA—MANDALA VI	.. .. .	<i>Manilal Patel</i>
JACOBI'S ESSAYS ON THE APABHRAMSHA		<i>Manilal Patel</i>
RISHTASAMUCCAYA	.. .. .	<i>Amritlal S. Gopani</i>
सन्देशरासक (An Apabhramsha Poem)	.. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>

---

The following are *under preparation*.

VAISHNAVISM : A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT	.. .. .	<i>Durgashanker K. Shastri assisted by Sushila Mehta</i>
JNANAPANCAMIKATHA OF MAHESHVARASURI (10th cent. A.D.)	.. .. .	<i>A. S. Gopani</i>
COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN THE PURANAS		<i>A. D. Pusalker</i>
BHAGAVATA PURANA—A CRITICAL STUDY		<i>Sushila Mehta</i>
INDIA AS REFLECTED IN THE PURANAS		<i>S. D. Gyani</i>
TAITTIRIYĀ BRAHMANA—ENGLISH TRANSLATION (FOR THE FIRST TIME) AND EXHAUSTIVE ANNOTATIONS	.. .. .	• • • <i>Jayant N. Raval</i>
A FEW APABHRAMSHA TEXTS (of the 10th—12th Cents. A.D.)	.. .. .	<i>Harivallabh Bhayani</i>
YOGA-VARTTIKA OF VIJNANABHIKSHU		<i>Prabbudas C. Shah</i>
MUNSHI—A LITERARY STUDY	.. .. .	<i>Harilal G. Pandya</i>

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## JOURNALS

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# BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



Vol. III, Part I

November 1941

## AN EXPERIENTIAL APPROACH TO THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

I—THE WILL TO RESIST

OF BOOKS a few only attain the position of classics. Of them, not more than half a dozen have come to be accepted as Scriptures. Of such Scriptures, the pre-eminent is the *Bhagavadgītā*—this incomparable converse between God and Man. Edwin ARNOLD called it *The Song Celestial*; HUMBOLDT characterized it as “the most beautiful, perhaps the only true philosophical song in any known tongue”. The reasons for its pre-eminence are many.

It is composed by Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, the poet of poets and the first and foremost prophet of the human race.

This gospel has given more than human power to countless men for the last twenty-five hundred years; to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja; to VIVEKANANDA, Lokamanya TILAK and GANDHIJI among the moderns.

It has also provided the inspiration to immortal works like the *Bhāgavata* and Tulasidāsa’s *Rāmacarita Mānasa* which have shaped and strengthened the eternal edifice of Indian culture.

And it has a universality which embraces every aspect of human action, suits and elevates every stage of human development.

Yet the modern educated mind in India is a timid mind. It has a sub-conscious feeling that if it is found relying too often on the *Gītā*, the possessor—the arrogant modern—will be classed with the superstitious, the weak, the outworn.

It is a real fear amongst us. But if India is to continue its triumphant march to world influence, the fear must be cast out.

St. Paul in his letter to the Romans said : “ I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ ”. Why should anyone be ashamed of the Gospel which Vyāsa taught mankind ? No man is ashamed of his learning, of his artistic gifts, or of displaying power, however little it be. Why should he be ashamed of openly confessing the real source of power, the power which strengthens everyone when he is feeble, inspires him when he is weak, upholds him when he is strong ?

When all resources fail, then through the words of the *Gītā*, God speaks :

Yield not to impotence, Pārtha.  
It befits thee not.  
Shake off this wretched faint-heartedness.  
Stand up, Oh, harasser of foes.<sup>1</sup>

Then fear flees. Then we recover ‘ ourselves ’ ; and like unto Arjuna each of us can say, inspired :

Here I stand firm ; my doubts are fled ;  
I shall act as Thou biddest.<sup>2</sup>

The more desperate the situation, the greater is the power which the *Gītā* reveals. This has been the experience of the strong. Why should it not be the inspiration of us, the weak ?

The strength which the *Gītā* gives does not lie on the surface. It lies in real personal power ; not like the power of the worldly, in apparent glitter and domination. It is the power that makes everyone to whom it comes a little more of himself. By and through it, the weak become strong ; the shallow, deep ; the voluble, silent ; the insolent, humble ; the wasted, effective. It gives the power of God to everyone that believeth ; the power ‘ to arise and win glory, to overcome foes and to enjoy Kingship ’<sup>3</sup> ; a power, higher than which, no man can covet or gain.

The power which the *Gītā* gives comes not merely to individuals but to communities and nations, as well, if they could translate its message into action.

1. क्लृप्तं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत्त्वय्युपपद्यते ।

क्षुद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्तचित्तिष्ठ परंतप ॥ B. G. II, 3.

2. स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः करिष्ये वचनं तव । B. G. XVIII, 73.

3. तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व जित्वा शत्रून्मुदस्व राज्यम् ॥ B. G. XI, 33.

The message of the *Gītā* can be summed up in the words "Creative Resistance".<sup>4</sup> This has two aspects: Creative Concentration and the Will to Resist. The latter aspect is given in one verse of immortal value :

Thy every deed dedicated unto Me,  
Thy heart in self-hood rested,  
All 'my-ness', all hope forsworn,  
With thy Self from fever cured,  
Resist thou, Oh, Arjuna.<sup>5</sup>

Resist non-self with self, wherever it is, by whatever means ; resist it with all the might of your body and soul, not as a matter of calculation, but as a matter of offering unto Him : that is the message of the *Gītā*.

When in the past foreign hordes overran India, the power of the State and the frenzy of religious fanaticism were allied against her. Her freedom, her faith, her culture, her very existence were in peril. Then the message of the *Gītā* gave her power and endurance, and the *will to resist*.

We then resisted in the social sphere and turned guilds into castes, and families into the fortified strength of joint families. We resisted in the religious sphere and produced *bhakti*, the *bhakti* of Caitanya, Kabir and Guru Nanak, which swept away the angularities of religious intolerance. We resisted in the intellectual sphere and enshrined Sanskrit as the Goddess of learning, as the mother of everlasting inspiration. We resisted in the political sphere and reduced the power of kings to a mere liberty to quarrel with each other without seriously affecting society and culture.

But *Pax Britannica*, the hypnotic phrase, made us see things as they were not. It has weakened India's Will to Resist. And a new situation finds us in difficulties.

Today, a man, more ferocious than Atilla, overspreads the world, bringing carnage and slavery to country after country, coming nearer to India with every stride. An irresponsible bureaucracy has declined our free association<sup>6</sup>

4. Cf. *Nirodha* in योगवृत्तिनिरोधः (Y. S. I. 2) ; in its important stages it is not suppression but resistance. Cf. तत्प्रतिषेधार्थमेकतत्त्वाभ्यासः (Y. S. I. 31). Creative-ness is the essence of *dhyāna* and *samādhi*. *Samādhi* is defined as, "The same (i.e. Meditation) appearing in the form of the object (meditated upon) and becoming bereft as it were of its own character—is communion". (तदेवार्थमात्रनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः । Y. S. III. 3). The act and the self must be forgotten ; the *yogi* must be so absorbed in the *dhyeya*, that he becomes the thing meditated upon. This process of becoming the thing meditated upon, i.e. accomplishing things by concentration is referred to as Creative Resistance. Now, Creative Resistance has two constituents : Concentration—*ekāgrya* or *ekatattvābhyāsa* and *vairāgya* (दृष्टानुश्रविक विषयवितृष्णस्य बन्धीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम् Y. S. I. 15). *Vairāgya* for a man in training is only possible when he develops resistance. Thus all creation is the result of *dhyāna* or *samādhi* of some kind or other induced by creative concentration and the will to resist everything which obstructs the creation.

5. मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्यात्माश्चेतसा ।

निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥ B. G. III, 30.

and has armed itself with powers, which can stifle the breath of freedom in the country. An ambition to dominate the country or divide it has fired a few, making life and property insecure. Western culture—the teeming womb of tanks and dive-bombers—has insidiously sapped our spirit. It has created dangers we never knew before. We feel helpless; we whine for alien help. We look in vain on all sides for sympathy.

A mood of frustration has seized India as had seized Arjuna, when Shri Kṛṣṇa asked him to control his sense of impotence. The message of the *Gītā* is the country's only hope. India must dedicate itself to God. It should give up illusory hopes of cheaply earned freedom. It should listen to the voice of God and develop the Will to Resist all evil, in whatever form it faces us.

## II.—TO BE OR TO DO : THAT'S THE QUESTION

Resistance is the essence of individual or corporate growth. If one did not resist, one would become worse than a weed.

Resistance to non-self is the first step towards the growth of a man's personality. Every minute it is growing, it becomes something different from what it has been. This incessant development of one's personality, however, is simply the process of being oneself more and more. This 'Becoming'<sup>6</sup> is the law of life.

I want to be 'myself' (*ātmanvān*): that is the supreme desire of every man. It is not a desire to be one's own nude, caveman self. It is the desire to live a fuller life; to live in a more co-ordinated manner; to develop one's capacities with corresponding enlargement of opportunities. This desire seeks to emphasize, expand and realize all that is in us. It also drives us to admire others who possess striking personalities, who are 'themselves' in a larger measure.

Unfortunately, most of us try to develop our personality from without, rather than from within. Some dress their hair; others study and modify their voice, manner and appearance; yet others acquire equipment, physical or mental; all, with the object of being something, something more notable and effective. But personality is not the result of possessions; it is the outcome of a man becoming more of a *person* than others, in being a source of inner power.

The greatness of a man is not in what he does, but in what he was and has since become. To 'become', then, is infinitely higher than to 'do.' To be thoroughly 'oneself' is higher service than serving others. "Ye, therefore, shall be perfect even as your Heavenly Father is perfect" said Christ in his Sermon on the Mount. To become 'perfect'—to realize every minute the highest in oneself—is the noblest service to fellowmen.

The Yogī is higher than the Ascetic;  
He soars above the seers who know.

Higher than those who work, too, is he.

Therefore, Arjuna, be thou a 'Yogi.'

The greatness of a truly great man lies in his life, not in his deeds. Every man who has met GANDHĪJI has felt that there is something nobler, greater in the man than in anything that he says or does. Every time I meet him, I find that he is bigger than his biggest deeds.

"It is true," writes Mr. MORLEY, "that what interests the world in Mr. GLADSTONE is even more what he was than what he did ; his brilliance, charm and power, the endless surprises ; his dualism and more than dualism."

Was it not MILTON who said that in order to write well the author ought himself to be a true poem ; that he should not 'presume to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience or practice of all that is praiseworthy' ?

What did Socrates do, except impress with his tremendous personality every man he came in contact with ? Thus does Alcibiades, the magnificent wastrel, testify :

"When I hear him speak, my heart leaps up far more than the hearts of those who celebrated the Corybantic mysteries ; my tears are poured out as he talks, a thing I have often seen happen to many others besides myself. I have heard Pericles and other excellent orators, and have been pleased with their discourses, but I suffered nothing of this kind ; nor was any soul ever on those occasions disturbed and filled with self-reproach, as if it were slavishly laid prostrate. But this Marsyas here had often affected me in the way I describe, until the life which I lived seemed hardly worth living. \* \* \* I escape therefore, and hide myself from him, and when I see him I am overwhelmed with humiliation because I have neglected to do what I confessed to him ought to be done ; and often and often have I wished that he were no longer to be seen among men. But if that were to happen I well know that I should suffer far greater pain ; so that there I can turn, or what I can do with this man I know not. All this have I and many others suffered from the pipings of this satyr."

In the life of every great man we observe the effort with which he struggled against his limitations. We trace the steps by which he rose to become himself ; by which he gained freedom which led to fuller expression of his powers.

The men who seek accomplishments without corresponding inner growth do not know the joys of 'Becoming'. They find no real greatness. The *Gītā* condemns them unequivocally :

In quenchless longing lost,  
By fraud, conceit and lust inspired,  
They strive,  
Bound by vows impure, with ignorance blind,  
Holding on to lies in place of truth,  
Engrossed in boundless, anxious designs  
Extending to the ends of time.

7. तपस्विभ्योऽधिको योगी ज्ञानिभ्यो मतोऽधिकः ।

कर्मिभ्यश्चाधिको योगी तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन ॥ B. G. VI, 46.

On sating their desires such men are bent,  
 Believing, that alone is Truth.  
 Enmeshed by a hundred bonds of hope  
 Steeped in lust and with  
 Amassing wealth by lawless means  
 They strive to get their hearts' desires.  
 "See what I have secured today?" they say  
 "On this my mind is now set, next.  
 This wealth is mine; this much more  
 Shall be mine again.  
 This enemy have I slain today;  
 Those others I will slay anon.  
 I am the lord; I enjoy as I like;  
 Successful, happy and strong am I.  
 Who can rival my wealth, my birth?  
 I alone will offer sacrifice,  
 Scatter gifts and rejoice  
 As none before me ever did."  
 Enveloped in ignorance, these,  
 Maddened by countless thoughts,  
 Caught fast in illusion,  
 Held in thrall by sensual pleasures  
 Rush heading into Hell.<sup>8</sup>

Exclusive devotion to the outward in one shape or the other endangers the inner side of a man, which alone gives him strength, beauty and distinction.

"What does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" asked the Prophet of Nazareth.

Many gain the world they seek. They also then find to their cost that they have no power to make it their own.

8. काममाश्रित्य दुष्पूरं दम्भमानमदान्विताः ।  
 मोहाद्गृहीत्वाऽऽसदाहान् प्रवर्तन्तेऽशुचिप्रताः ॥  
 चिन्तामपरिमेयां च प्रलयान्तामुपाश्रिताः ।  
 कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥  
 आशापाशशतैर्बद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः ।  
 ईहन्ते कामभोगार्थमन्यायेनार्थसंचयान् ॥  
 इदमथ मया लब्धमिदं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम् ।  
 इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥  
 असौ मया हतः शत्रुर्हनिष्ये चापरानपि ।  
 ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखी ॥  
 आढ्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया ।  
 यक्ष्ये दास्यामि मोदिष्य इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः ॥  
 अनेकचित्तविभ्रान्ता मोहजालसमावृताः ।  
 प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥ B. G. XVI, 10-16,

## III—SURRENDER TO GOD

When the *Gītā* enjoins resistance as an essential of the growth of personality in a man or a group, emphasis is laid on 'Dedication of all actions to Me.'

This Dedication.—*Īśvara Pratiṣṭhāna*<sup>9</sup> in other words, Surrender to God—baffled me for a long time. The intellectual background of my college days was provided by Spencer and Mill. I, therefore, could not understand why Vyāsa and Patañjali, Christ, St. Augustine and Caitanya, Narasimha and Mira, all persons of the highest intellect and honesty, of most powerful personality, laid emphasis on this surrender as a necessary step to Becoming.

The *Gītā* enjoins it again and again :

To Him do thou surrender with thy whole being,  
His grace shall then bear thee safe, Oh Bhārata ;  
Across to Peace, supreme and changeless.<sup>10</sup>  
And,  
Give up all duties :  
Surrender thyself unto Me.  
Grieve not ; for from all bonds of sin  
I'll set thee free.<sup>11</sup>

How was it that this message has soothed aching hearts through centuries ?

I understand this surrender a little now, but it is not easy to achieve this "surrender"<sup>12</sup> as it is to understand it. Many *bhaktas* have spent their whole life in vain by trying to realise it. It is the most difficult and yet the most exquisite of the ways which lead to the growth of a great personality. Without it, God—Perfection—never dwells in us. Without it, Becoming remains unreal, for there is nothing to reach forward to.

To the modern unbelieving mind which has no patience with things religious, this may be difficult, if not impossible to grasp. But personality cannot grow in stark isolation. Nothing develops personality as the influence of another personality, may be of a father, a teacher, a friend, or a beloved. The stronger this personality, the greater is its potency.

Certain persons draw us out. In their presence, we grow better and bigger. One word from them, and we acquire the strength we never had before. If such a one were with us day and night or he dwelt with us in our imagination, his inspiration would never fail us. We would then grow from strength to strength. This "indwelling"<sup>13</sup> of a great personality becomes a powerful force, making us more and more of "ourselves."

9. स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि क्रियायोगः । Y. S. II. 1.

10. तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत ।  
तत्प्रसादात्परां शान्तिं स्थानं प्राप्स्यसि शाश्वतम् ॥ B. G. XVIII, 62.

11. सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।  
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥ B. G. XVIII, 66.

12. This is also termed by some *śaraṇāgati*, *nyāsa*, or *ātmasamarpaṇa*.

13. Cf. निवासः शरणं सुहृत्..... B. G. IX, 18.



When we are near a great personality we not only hear him speak of men and things but also note those chance remarks which let us into its secrets. We are then possessed by it. It haunts us when we leave him. Our word and deed unconsciously come to be tested on the touchstone of his personality. We are influenced, not so much by what he says, but by what he is.

We are all familiar with the conscious indwelling of our favourite author. DUMAS and HUGO were my favourite authors when I was young. I read and re-read their works. Their characters were more to me than my friends and relatives. I unconsciously adopted their attitudes and verbal tricks. I grew through these masters indwelling in me. If the one abiding in us is living, the influence is still more remarkable. Who has not been shaped and moulded by the beloved's indwelling in one's heart?

Literary creativeness is not possible without the characters indwelling in an author, though temporarily. The stories of Puranic Ṛṣis strongly influenced me in my boyhood. Some of the characters in my novels and dramas like Kauṭilya, Uśanas, Aurva, Agastya and Viśvāmitra, are only faint, crude portraits of those who at the time when they were drawn were living realities to me.

Apart from literary creations, Vyāsa, for instance, has had a curious attraction for me. The *Mahābhārata* is his work; the *Gītā* is his gospel. He is Viṣṇu; and Viṣṇu is He, according to a well-known hymn. He is "Brahmā, but without four faces; Viṣṇu but with two hands; Sambhu, but without the third eye."<sup>14</sup> I have always come to regard him as the first among men, who by his conquest of self, his vision of the eternal in life, his literary production, laid the foundation of an immortal culture, which, though characteristically Indian, embraces humanity for all time.

The continuity of India's culture and tradition,—the main source of its strength—is due to the spirit of Vyāsa, enshrined in the *Mahābhārata* having indwelt Indians for centuries. For countless generations its heroes have lived in men's imagination; its approach to life has been the approach of millions; its idioms, sentiments and ideals have refreshed and invigorated them. If India is worth living and dying for; it is because of the beauty and power which India has acquired by centuries of its surrender to Vyāsa.

But his attraction for me has been fitful, intellectual, not spiritual. I think of him often. More than once his momentary "indwelling" has led me to decisions of far-reaching consequence. But in the ordinary affairs of life, I am just my erring self. He does not abide in me; nor I in him. I would be a true Indian only if this happened.

The place of "indwelling" in the scheme of life must be realized.

The growth of personality—both of individuals and groups—is the result

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14. अचतुर्वदनो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुरपरो हरिः ।  
अभाल्लोचनः शंभुः..... ॥

of Creative Resistance. Resistance to be creative must be inspired by an effort of imagination to realize an idea.<sup>15</sup>

Yearning is the driving force behind this effort, behind all growth. It has to be maintained at a white heat whenever the process of Becoming has to be shortened and perfected. "Yoga only comes to him who possesses *samvega*—intense yearning" says Patañjali.<sup>16</sup> This indwelling of the Supreme comes by intensifying the *samvega*—yearning, which ceaselessly seeks self-surrender. Intellect, in this matter, is barren; emotion quivering with powerful effort of the imagination only can help one towards it.

A man may be ceaselessly active; he may also accomplish results; but he may be lost all the same, for efforts may be unaccompanied by a persistent yearning to Become. When he loses the power of experiencing this *samvega*, his condition becomes appalling. He becomes a fossil; he is self-complacent, satisfied with himself; or, a failure, a wreck. Life, for him, loses its vitality; becomes routine. He makes efforts to recover himself, but cannot. The old enthusiasms have no chance for him. His personality then fades away. He is in "impure hell."

We throw away opportunities of strengthening the faculty to Become. Life for us is either a bewildering struggle or a soulless acquiescence. We have not even the faculty Arjuna had "of being filled with wonderment, his body thrilled with awe",<sup>17</sup> or the humility which drove him to fold his hands and bow his head before the grandeur which God vouchsafed him. We are denied the grace which makes life worth living.

"Indwelling" of the Supreme comes to him who ceaselessly meditates upon him; who with high-strung emotion yearns to see Him, touch Him, love Him.

The imagination, then, vividly conjures up His picture in living colours. The attention fondly dwells on His life and teachings. He ceases to be a thought, becomes a person.<sup>18</sup> When yearning gives place to prayers, tears and heartache, He is no longer a Person to be worshipped externally but a Presence seen, felt, in oneself. The devotee then becomes 'My-minded' (*man-manāḥ*) and 'My-souled' (*madgata-prāṇaḥ*). His personality merges in His; attains 'My-hood' (*madbhāvam yāti*). The limitations of the aspirant's personality then fade off. He casts forth desires woven into his mind.

With self alone content with self, he becomes

A *Sthitaprajña*.

Undistressed amidst sorrows,

Amidst pleasures desire-free, he lives;

All attachment, fear and anger past, he is a Muni,

Of mind firmly poised,

With heart unattached in luck whether fair or foul,

15. तदेवार्थमात्रनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः । Y. S. III, 3.

16. तीव्रसंवेगानामासन्नः । Y. S. I, 21.

17. Cf. ततः स विस्मयाविष्टो हृष्टरोमा धनंजयः । B. G. XI, 14.

18. Cf. B. G. XI, 44.

He neither rejoices nor hates, his mind abiding  
In perfect poise.<sup>19</sup>

Through intellect, I now know, God cannot be known, much less realized. God abides in the man who not only reads his gospel, but reads and repeats it till his attitude towards life is imperceptibly shaped through it. Western education taught me that if I read and understand a book, I need do no more. It is a convenient formula of the age, created by the printing press with its miles of transient literature turned out day after day, baffling men's minds, drowning their personality.

*Svādhyāya*—one's own study—is different. It is the repeated reading or reciting of a great book as a gospel till phrases and paragraphs come to be woven into the texture of a man's mind, stirring thoughts, stimulating aspirations, till a great personality comes to live in him.<sup>20</sup>

We are of the earth, earthy. Our life is spent in a life-long struggle for money and position. And yet as we recite *Gītā* day by day, some of the sayings of the Master stand out in the mind and we recognise their power. If the whole of the teaching possessed our mind, God would come and dwell in us. 'They abide in Me ; I abide in them'<sup>21</sup>—is not a metaphor. *Yogīs* and *Bhaktas* of India, the mystics of all ages and climes, were possessed by God in the same way. They had no choice ; they obeyed Him ; they lived but to be His instruments.

Listen to my final word, the secret of all secrets.  
I speak to thee of what is for thy good, for,  
I love thee steadfastly.  
Let thy mind be filled with Me.  
Give thy love to Me, even your offerings and your homage ;  
Then wilt thou come to Me.  
That's my troth, I pledge thee here,  
For thou art dear to Me.<sup>22</sup>

19. आत्मन्येवात्मना तुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते ।

दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।

वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥

यः सर्वत्रानभिस्नेहस्तत्तत्प्राप्य शुभाशुभम् ।

नामिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ B. G. II, 55-57.

20. स्वाध्यायादिष्टदेवतासंप्रयोगः । Y. S. II, 44.

21. ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् । B. G. IX, 29.

22. सर्वगुह्यतमं भूयः शृणु मे परमं वचः ।

इष्टोऽसि मे ददमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ॥

मन्मना भव मद्रक्तो मयाजी मां नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥ B. G. XVIII, 64-65.

This is no verbal consolation. It is a fact capable of actual experience. And the fortunate one who has had it, will grow in personality till its dimensions coincide with the Divine.

This is Surrender unto God—*Īśvara Praṇidhāna* ; the final message of the *Gītā*. Not of *Gītā* alone, but of all religions. “Not I, but Christ liveth in me” was the admission of Christian saints. “Doubtless thou shalt live in Me” says Kṛṣṇa.

For many, God is too far away, intangible, to be brought to indwell them. For them, as Patañjali points out, the path of Becoming can equally be trodden by constant efforts to surrender themselves to great personalities, real or imaginary, who have been known to have transcended attachment and its brood, fear and anger ; to men like Vyāsa, Buddha, Christ, whom we revere as prophets.

#### IV—TRUTH WHICH IS UNITY

The modern mind has confounded knowledge with personality. This confusion has been the ‘direful spring of unnumbered woes.’ In India it has turned the University graduate into waste paper baskets of odd bits of information, unshaped in character, dwarfed in personality, devoid of faith which alone can convert knowledge into power.

Education in these days is not ‘leading forth’ of the inmost personality, but imposing fetters of cast-iron alien thoughts on him. We are mechanised by it, regimented ; not let forth to the freedom of ceaseless Becoming. Our curiosity is satisfied ; we have been given wide attachments and intense dislikes ; but the motive power of our personality remains unkindled. We are walking frauds. We have intellect divorced from will, belief in ideals which are belied in life. The search after knowledge in some cases leads up to ideals ; but in most cases they remain dreams, ineffective and unrelated to life. As a result the modern man does not feel humiliated at his mind being divorced from speech, his speech from action. This two-fold divergence is accepted as inevitable, often as a sign of modernity.

The mind, thought and deed become one dynamic unit in a growing personality. But it is difficult to produce this harmony between forces, all of which generally tend to fly away from each other. When these three forces in a man become one, he serves Truth ; then only he becomes effective.

“What is truth ?” asked Pilate, and Truth still vexes us with its elusiveness. It is not consistency ; growth of vision on a fuller knowledge of facts often makes consistency an untruth. It is not even one’s view of things ; for, two people trying to see truth may honestly come to two entirely conflicting views. Yet Truth is universal,—sought after, held in reverence by all ; the guiding light of all high-souled efforts. This Truth is the inseparable unity of thought, word and deed of a man at a given moment ; and in order to be really effective it has to be backed by the very life of the man, who thereby earnestly pursues Becoming.

Patañjali has given the test of what is truthful. 'Truth, when realized, yields the fruits of action.'<sup>23</sup> One has to be truthful—that is, one's thought, word and deed have to be compact, before results will follow. If I want to do things, therefore, the three forces in me have to be welded into a dynamic unity. This is Truth—this supreme unity of the three great forces of life ; when it is reached, the personality is tuned to receive the commandment of Him whose instrument one hopes to be.

The path which leads to this 'tuning' is called the way of Brahman.<sup>24</sup> The word *brahmacarya* is ordinarily restricted to sexual continence or suppression. This narrow meaning is misleading. Its real meaning is 'Non-Waste': non-waste of mental, verbal and bodily powers. In that sense alone, the aspirant is asked to be *yata-vākkāyā-mānasa*—controlled in word, body and mind.

We waste our powers, at every moment of our life, in small things and big. We speak inaccurately ! it is a waste. We waste our energy in fidgeting, when we ought to be sitting still. We waste time in gossip, in fruitless efforts, in an unmethodical distribution of our time, calling it freedom. How many moderns waste the best part of life, say in golf or bridge, when they should be achieving the same physical vigour or mental relaxation in a hundred useful ways ?

And so with the mind. We splash about our mental energy, like urchins dancing in the sea. Very little examination is necessary to convince one of the criminal waste of our mental powers. We feel we are busy when all we are doing is to waste our mental powers in an unregulated, diffused manner. If we want to Become, we dare not waste the energies of our machine where-with we have to attain results. If a man has to approach God, if he has to be His instrument, he cannot offer to Him something which leaks at every point.

In India, for want of enough men of calibre, a man is drawn to do many things. But it is all wrong, hopelessly wrong ; everyone must keep to his business. He should do it for all he is worth. He should not dissipate his energies to things outside his *svadharma*.

Better one's own thankless dharma  
Than alien task, though well-performed.  
Better to die  
Doing one's own task ;  
Another's task is fraught with danger.<sup>25</sup>

We forsake our vocation, our *svadharma*, this unity of purpose, for position, power or wealth which accident may bring. The result is fraught with danger. It is failure or worse ; it stunts the personality. Position, when so

23. सत्यप्रतिष्ठायां क्रियाफलाश्रयत्वम् । Y. S. II, 36.

24. ब्रह्मचर्यप्रतिष्ठायां वीर्यलाभः । Y. S. II, 38.

25. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥ B. G. III, 35.

occupied, instead of giving scope to one's personality, proves that the personality is not big enough for the position.

Personality therefore presupposes a unity of mind, a power of concentration, a fixed determination, which pursues its objects steadily, without wavering or tiring.

The Will of those that strive  
Knows but one Aim, Kuru's Delight.  
Many-branched and endless is the will of him  
Who knows no real effort.<sup>26</sup>

This purposeful concentration of all one's power is what distinguishes the growing personality from the sterile one. Most of us suffer from an incapacity to separate one duty, one ambition, one resolve, from all others which to him is Truth and give it a pre-eminent place in our life. We dare not become what Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to do : "Be thou but an instrument."<sup>27</sup>

This distinguishes a man from a Yogi. A Yogi may be a very ordinary, imperfect man, but he recognises but one Truth as his guide. He would rather do the will of God than anyone else's. He consecrates himself to Truth, which is unity between thought, word and deed.

No one can be his true self, unless he consecrates himself thus. Most of us try to feed our personality on activities which have no organic relations with our selves. One is in a profession when he ought to be in office ; another is in business, when he ought to be a professor ; a third may be in profession, in politics, in literature when he ought to be consecrated to the salvage of culture, may be through these very activities. How many of us have a definite and divine purpose of life ? If so, how many have the readiness to become but an instrument ? But life is not long ; our capacities are not large. We tread the path of death when we seek to pursue all paths that appear open. ~~Our~~ aims, our friends, our interests are of those of a dilettante. They do not look one way—*ekāgra*—as they should, if we were but His instrument.

What is true of a man is again true of a country. A country has its own *svadharma* pre-destined by its history, its culture, its inner strength. Any attempt to achieve a result inconsistent with its *svadharma* unsupported by a unified control of its thought, word and deed will land it in a position of danger.

India has lived so long because it has lived by its truth, its culture, moulded and shaped by influences of diverse patterns toned to harmony. Her unity in the past was the inter-dependence of its major corporations, the representatives of culture, of strength, wealth and service. Her unity at present is represented by the educated classes ; by her economic unity ; by the Congress and other organisations which have raised a fabric of national unity ; by the

26. व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।

बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥ B. G. II, 41.

27. निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् । B. G. XI, 33.

impulse to preserve her integrity and attain freedom. And as a man struggles towards Truth, she also has to struggle towards it ; to overcome centrifugal forces ; to control waste ; to eliminate weaknesses. And the one weakness which she has to conquer is untruth, the habit of keeping aspiration and its expression divorced from harmonious action.

#### V—BREAKING THE BONDS

Personality grows by contact with individuals, by relations and conversation. At the same time, paradoxical though it may look, nothing cramps its growth so much as contact with the world.

Relations with the world impose bonds which few men can break. For a man in daily contact with the world, his time is not his own, his work not of his own choice. His company is not of his selection. His heredity, the needs of social life, his professional and political ambitions, create for him a cage in which his personality must languish and wither.

Getting away from this cage is an imperative need, if one wants to Become, if one wants his personality to grow and expand to its highest possibilities. Its bars are principally made of fear. If they have to be broken, fear must be conquered.

Of all forces which dominate life, fear is the most powerful, the ugliest, the most subtle.

How is Fear to be conquered ?

Fear is a habit of mind which causes many activities.

The mind under its influence expects the loss of something which it prizes as an essential. The loss is exaggerated, distorted, made to look devastating and to cause misery long before it actually arises. The mind is also driven to panicky action to prevent the expected loss. The origin of fear, therefore, is in the imagination which portrays the loss of an essential long before it has occurred.

Essentials, the loss of which is feared by the mind, are, generally, approbation of *our* world, possessions like wealth, position or health, and affection or love.

We fear to lose the approbation of *our* world, and so shape our conduct as to deserve it. But love of approbation is in reality lack of confidence in one's own judgment.

Approbation, or its denial, by our set, which we call 'the world', is not based on intrinsically sound judgment ; it is merely the reaction of our particular group to our conduct having regard to a standard set up by it. This standard conduct is different with different groups ; it changes also with the same group from time to time.

When we shape our conduct out of fear of disapproval of our group we consider the standard of that group as better than the standard we have set up ourselves ; that is, we surrender our judgment to the passing whims of our group.

If, therefore, we lay down our own standard and adhere to it, as being something more real to us, the lure of approval will disappear and with it the fear of its not forthcoming.

The essential, next in order, whose expected loss causes fear may be comprehensively called 'possessions', like wealth, position and health. These are acquired or retained by effective and sustained effort, and that too only when opportunity arises, which however is generally beyond one's control.

Fear, by causing misery and urging a man to panicky work, in reality, weakens effective and planned effort and destroys the sense of discovering opportunity.

If systematic and effective work is planned and carried out, the worker seeking only its perfection, possessions will follow, but—be it noted—only if opportunity arises, not otherwise.

Affection is another person's reaction to our systematic understanding of *his* needs. Love is the other person's reaction to our self-surrender to him or her. Fear of losing affection or love will distort the understanding or weaken the completeness of self-surrender. It will therefore destroy the foundation of the very thing which it expects to lose.

But if we create a standard of conduct of our own ; if we carefully plan an effective effort according to that standard, and no other, waiting for an opportunity ; if we try to understand the needs of those whose affection we seek : and if we surrender ourselves more completely to those whose love we cherish, Fear will disappear.

Loss of essentials is principally due to lack of effort on our part. Fear, while anticipating disaster, will weaken this effort. If effort is all absorbing, Fear will disappear.

If our standard of conduct is set up and adhered to ; if others' opinions about our conduct are not allowed to influence the conduct ; if we are satisfied with the results that come, only intensifying the efforts to attain our standard, Fear will disappear.

That is the path which all men who have conquered fear have trodden.

And the conquest of fear has come only to those who have surrendered themselves to the Supreme Will.

Indifferent to praise or blame, in silence delighting,  
Content with what comes along,  
Unattached to home, or unwavering will,  
Devoted to Me, such the man  
Who alone is dear to Me.<sup>28</sup>

Such men only become free from the stifling bondage which the world imposes. Their personalities are not dwarfed, for their intimacy with God increases as their relations with the world slacken.

28. बुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्मौनी संतुष्टो येन केनचित् ।

अनिकेतः स्थिरमतिर्भक्तिमान्मे प्रियो नरः B. G. XII, 19.



Relations with God do not fetter any aspirant's personality. He reveals Himself to everyone according to his prayers or needs. With every step in the growth of his personality, the Kindly Light leads him on to the next.

Whichever the path of his approach to Me,  
Therefrom do I welcome him.  
The winding tracks of men, but follow the footsteps  
Which once I trod.<sup>29</sup>

That is why Patañjali gives to everyone the freedom to choose his own path of Becoming.

'If supreme detachment does not appeal to a man nor devotion to God, nor again the control of breath, let him,' says he, 'concentrate on sensuous objects or on the sorrowless condition of the mind, full of light. If that does not suit him, he should concentrate upon the Masters, who have transcended attachment, fear and anger; failing it, upon dreams and sleep; and failing everything let him merge himself in the subject of his choice.'<sup>30</sup>

All roads of yearning therefore lead to Becoming, if followed with zeal and strength. The *Gītā* is equally indulgent :

Your mind and gaze if fixed on Me,  
Thou shalt abide in Me alone.  
Have no doubts whatever.  
But perchance if thou canst not fix  
Thy mind on me with steadfast devotion  
Seek to reach Me, Dhanañjaya, by the path of discipline.  
If thou canst not pursue, even this path  
Live for Me alone;  
Doing deeds for My sake only shalt thou reach perfection.  
But even if thou canst not live  
Merging thyself in Me,  
Master thyself : Give up all desire—  
The desire for fruits of what you do.<sup>31</sup>

29. ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ B. G. IV, 11.

30. Cf. 1. अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः । Y. S. I, 12.

2. ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा । Y. S. I, 23.

3. प्रच्छेदनिविधारणाभ्याम् वा प्राणस्य । Y. S. I, 34.

4. विषयवती वा प्रवृत्तिरूपन्ना मनसः स्थितिनिबन्धनी । Y. S. I, 35.

5. विशोका वा ज्योतिष्मती । Y. S. I, 36.

6. वीतरागविषयं वा चित्तम् । Y. S. I, 37.

7. स्वप्ननिद्राज्ञानालम्बनं वा । Y. S. I, 38.

8. यथाऽऽभिमतध्यानाद्वा । Y. S. I, 39.

31. B. G. XII, 8-11 :

मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।

निवसिष्यसि मय्येव अत ऊर्ध्वं न संशयः ॥ B. G. XII, 8.

## VI—THE SPIRIT OF SILENCE AND SOLITUDE

Among the qualities which lead to Becoming, the *Gītā* gives a prominent place to Silence and Solitude. It is the *viviktasevī*<sup>32</sup>—the man who serves Solitude, and *mouni*<sup>33</sup>—the Silent, who attains Becoming.

Expression is bound up with personality. The man who speaks comes into contact with the world, influences it, dominates it. He grows as he expresses; and as he grows he becomes a power.

The struggle for expression, as the famous instance of Demosthenes proves, is long and arduous. On some rare occasions one can wrest admiration by powers of expression. He may carry the passions of men with him sometimes. But the most perfect eloquence has no power to touch hearts unless the whole personality is behind it; unless Silence, Solitude and Prayer teach one the secret of surrender, making the expression larger than the speaker. Carlyle was not wrong when he said: 'Were this an altar-building time, altars might still be raised to silence and secrecy.'

'Silence' he again stated, 'is the element in which great things fashion themselves that at length they may emerge full-formed and majestic into the daylight which thenceforth they are to rule'.

Real action is in silent moments. The epochs of our life are not in the visible facts of existence like calling, marriage, acquisition of office, but in a silent thought by the wayside, in a lonely thought which reshapes our entire outlook on life with freshness, as never in society.

If one is a man of God, surrender will come to him easy, and he will be able to live in God, easily, effortlessly. His communion with Him will be filled with a placid ethereal wildness, which will fertilise his personality. When he returns, he will have been well-armed to resist the bondage or worldly contact.

Solitude is the twin brother of Silence. It is the greatest stimulant to the growth of personality, if it does not lead to vegetation.

R̥sis grew in personality in forests and mountain tops. Buddha meditated alone under the Bodhi tree. Moses, Christ and Mahomed communed with God on the heights of hills. Aravind Ghosh lives in perpetual solitude. Gandhiji creates solitude in a distant village. Saint Bernard cried: *Oh Solitude, sola beautitudo*. Even Hitler repeatedly resorts to solitude to replenish the depleted store house of his personality.

अथ चित्तं समाधातुं न शक्नोषि मयि स्थिरम् ।

अभ्यासयोगेन ततो मासिच्छाऽऽप्तुं धनंजय ॥ B. G. XII, 9.

अभ्यासेऽप्यसमर्थोऽसि मत्कर्मपरमो भव ।

मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ B. G. XII, 10.

अथैतदप्यशक्तोऽसि कर्तुं मयोगमाश्रितः ।

सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ॥ B. G. XII, 11.

32. B. G. XIII-10.

33. B. G. XII-19.

It is a mistake to think that we can only grow in society. I thought so once ; I have found by experience that I was wrong. Frequent resort to solitude is necessary, particularly when one feels tired, wounded, deprived of inspiration.

The modern believes and maintains that society is the be-all and end-all of life. This is false. One may be human enough to want society, but he must not be so sub-human as to want it all the time. The world of perpetual change, defeat, conflict and imperfection is never enough for a man of intelligence. *Aratirjanasamsadi*<sup>34</sup>—aversion to crowds—is not a negative quality, but a positive one. Solitude is never solitary even for the man who does not want to be himself.

Solitude is essential to give us the confidence which society denies us. Confidence creates the atmosphere in which yearning—but not the greed of the covetous—becomes keener. But it must be the unalterable confidence of the man who is convinced that a Higher Power shapes his destiny ; of the man who has brushed aside all other duties, and sought shelter in Him. For has He not declared to him : “ I shall set thee free from all bonds of sin. Grieve not.” ?

Without such confidence none can hope to inspire others. Without it, all other qualities are ineffective. Without it, nothing great can be accomplished. With it only we come to the stage of no longer living according to our own plans, but seeing before us the eternal purpose of God. Solitude thus deepens the personality of everyone who, in humility, yearns for Becoming and seeks it.

To the man struggling to Become the world of solitude is peopled with the wonderful beauty and greatness of his own yearning. Then *Samvega*<sup>35</sup> comes to him in great waves, washing away the imperfections which thwart his growth ; healing the scars which the moral failure of society has inflicted. If he has a *svādhyāya*—his favourite study—its truths will surround him with their creative vigour. He will be able to live. Becoming, then, will not look like a luminous height of snows, but a Reality.

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By silence and solitude is not meant the time spent with book or pen ; it means the quiet moment when, in harmony with ourselves and God, we try to receive the message of Becoming. Such silent uplifting moments, I experienced, on mountain tops.

As I sat gazing at the eternal snows of the Trishul, Nandadevi and Dhavalgiri at Kosani in the Himalayas, as a wide sweep of peaks, hills and valleys lay stretched at my feet, I grew large with the greatness of the Himalayas which enwrapped me ; and realised, for a stray brief moment what it means to be above and beyond attachment, fear and anger, to be *nīstrai-gunya*<sup>36</sup>. My eyes fastened on the overhanging majesty of the Trishul, I listened to a far off mighty voice in the midst of the silence around me. I

34. B. G. XIII-10.

35. Y. S. I, 21.

36. B. G. II-42

settled myself tuned to it. I was passive. I let the spirit of the Himalayas fill me. One earthly thought after another left me. I was resting on the bosom of a changeless immensity. And in that silence I felt the Presence of

The Infinite, The Lord of gods,  
Of the World's final resting place  
Him who is beyond what is  
And what is not, Transcendent<sup>37</sup> !

Do not cowards make a *svadharma* of their fright? My *svadharma* lies far, far below—in heat, in disappointments, in struggles. The world is too much with me.

Perhaps, duty is calling me back. Perhaps this call is God's, for, who knows, the raptures which such feelings give me, are denied to the *Sādhu* who shivers in cold amidst snow and pines, unwashed and unprovided. He has attained in this vast solitude perhaps the elemental quiet of a protoplasm which knows no *saṁvega*<sup>38</sup> and has no personality left. Perhaps to him the Trishul and Nandadevi are not sources of inspiration, but familiar spectres of a long and devastating winter.

For me, for the moment, is my own worldly task. Has not the *Gītā* given me the solace?

Better one's thankless task, far,  
Than an alien's duty, tho' well-performed.  
Who acts as his own nature bids  
Incurs thereby no taint of sin.  
One's innate duty, though tainted.  
Let no man desert ;  
For, all efforts are wrapped in imperfection  
Like fire by smoke.<sup>39</sup>

If I could but catch this mood, isolate it, weave it in myself, I could rest the spirit of silence and solitude from the Himalayas.

In such solitude I felt like the eagle spontaneous, fearless, intoxicated with power which knew no guilt, which left no shadow of misery. Sometimes I sang in tune with the voices of the morning heralding the dawn of day.

I then but sought life but not remembered it. I felt like living always for 'the mad sake of living' on some distant hill top, surrounded by majestic snows. I will have then attained the end, which a life's labours have nursed. Living will then be something ultimate—and in itself—like beautiful poetry, like a perfect statue, like *ānanda*, like a beautiful flower offered before a

37. अनन्त देवेश जगन्निवास त्वमक्षरं सदसत्तत्परं यत् । B. G. XI-37 cd.

38. Y. S. I-21.

39. श्रेयान्स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।  
स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाऽऽप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥  
सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।  
सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवाऽऽवृताः ॥

shrine. If I could only forget things and live in thought, if this narrow wisdom of worldliness were not mine, if I were not a slave—a coward !

Again, at such moments, I have felt the summons to action. I am an heir to the Aryan culture. It is for the present but a dream of forty million slaves. I have no power to express what I felt about it, how as a supreme effort of the human mind, it stands above all contemporary struggles as the only source of human pride, as the only hope of man. I am tied to the earth with fetters of delusion and cannot live or die for it. I cannot communicate to my helpless countrymen what they are and what they have been. If I tell them, they will not hearken to me. Much less can I liberate them from slavery ; weld them into a great people ; help them find their soul, which they call *Dharma* but know it not.

I am but an ordinary man to whom is denied the inspiration of Silence and Solitude in daily life.

Dust I am and unto the dust I must return.

# INDUS CIVILIZATION

## I. DESCRIPTIVE.\*

By

Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH. D.

THE discovery of Mohenjo-Daro has rightly been referred to as "the greatest since the advent of the British in India" by His late Highness the Maharaja of Baroda in his speech while opening the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference at Baroda.<sup>1</sup> These explorations in the Indus Valley open up a new vista in Indological research, set up a new scale of values, and carry us back at a single stretch to 3000 B.C. owing to the magnificent work done by the Indian Archaeological Department. Hitherto the savants of Europe and America used to assign the honour of priority to the countries watered by the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile, such as Mesopotamia, Assyria, Egypt, etc., which were regarded as cradles of civilization. India was merely a babe as compared to these giants, and Indian history rightly so called, used to begin only from the campaign of Alexander the Great in the Punjab, and the rise of the Mauryan dynasty in Magadha. Piprawa relic was the earliest dateable epigraph in Indian Archaeology<sup>2</sup>. The new discoveries, however, at once bring up Sind and the south west of the Punjab on a par with the oldest countries in respect of their antiquity. These discoveries mark an epoch in the history of Archaeological research, and necessitate a complete readjustment of previous views on the so-called Aryan invasion, and the civilization of India. Long-cherished beliefs are, indeed, being bombarded and old theories overhauled. There are still many promising sites in Sind, the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley awaiting the pick and the shovel. It is really a pity that excavations had to be stopped owing to want of sufficient funds with the Archaeological Department.

The finds unearthed at the prehistoric sites provide many interesting, important and intriguing points such as the date of the civilization; its authorship—whether it is Aryan, pre-Aryan, Dravidian, Sumerian, etc.; its relationship with other cultures; its extent; the religion and culture disclosed by it; the Indus script; etc. All these problems will be dealt with later on. It may be noted here, however, that a somewhat satisfactory solution of these problems can be obtained when we discover strata bearing Vedic settlements and showing their relative chronological position to the Indus Civilization. Excavation along the banks of Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī in the

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\* Extension Lecture delivered on February 22, 1941.

1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. lii.

2. : Vincent SMITH, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 17.

homeland of the Vedic Aryans will go a long way in providing ample valuable material. The satisfactory decipherment of the Indus Script which has hitherto baffled all attempts will give an unimpeachable and incontrovertible piece of evidence. Scholars have so long approached the problem with preconceived notions and consequently have read their own theories in the so-called Indus Seal writings. The discovery of a bi-lingual inscription will undoubtedly supply us with a clue to solve the mystery which is shrouding the problems.

When these discoveries were first made known, on account of its close similarity with the Sumerian antiquities, the civilization was designated Indo-Sumerian. It is now generally styled the Indus civilization on account of some of its individual and indigenous peculiarities. Finds of identical character excavated further east and south, however, thoroughly justify our designating the civilization as proto-Indian.<sup>3</sup>

Recalling the circumstances which have led to the remarkable discovery of this unknown phase of Indian culture, we find that Harappa was the first to unbosom its mystery and lay bare the hidden treasures. Harappa is situated not far from the old bed of the river Ravi in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, some 400 miles to the north-east of Mohenjo-Daro, about half way between Multan and Lahore. In the earliest hymns of the *Rgveda*, we find references to this region of the Ravi, and one hymn in particular speaks of a battle at the Hariyūpa<sup>4</sup>, a name closely analogous to Harappa. The mounds at Harappa were visited by MASSON in 1826, by BURNES five years later, and by Sir Alexander CUNNINGHAM, father of Indian Archaeology, twice in 1853 and 1856. Sir Alexander discovered a few of the now famous Indus Seals, engraved for the most part with the effigy of a bull and bearing inscriptions in an unknown pictographic script, and described them in his Report in 1875<sup>5</sup>. Dr. FLEET gave an account of some of the Harappa seals in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1912<sup>6</sup>. Their age and character were however a riddle to all investigators until the year 1921, when the fresh materials made available by systematic excavation at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, enabled them to partially solve the mystery. At Harappa, excavations were started for the first time in 1920-21 by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram SAHNI, who continued the excavation work in the two following seasons commencing from 1923-24. Pandit Madho Sarup VATS carried on the work during 1926-27 and 1933-34. The results of the excavations have recently been published in two sumptuously illustrated volumes edited by Pandit VATS entitled "*Excavations at Harappa*."<sup>7</sup>

3. Cf. Excavations at Rangpur in Limbdi State; also at Rupar, Amballa, Buxar, and even in the South. See, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. X., intr. pp. 1, 3, 5 f; *Journ. Bom. Hist. Soc.*, III, pp. 187-191; IV, pp. 69 ff.

4. *Rgveda*, VI, 27.5.

5. ASR (*Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*), V, 1875, pp. 105-108.

6. *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 699-701, 7. Govt. of India Publication, Delhi, 1940.

Mohenjo-Daro stands about 25 miles to the north of Larkhana, and 7 miles from Dokri, a station on the North Western Railway, in the Labdarya Taluka of the Larkhana District. The name "Mohenjo-Daro" has been interpreted as "the mound of the dead" by the Archaeological staff;<sup>8</sup> Dr. F. W. THOMAS, however, translates it by "the mound of the confluence,"<sup>9</sup> and Prof. BHERUMAL MAHIRCHAND by "the mound of the killed".<sup>10</sup> Mohenjo-Daro was known by name to the Indian Archaeological Department for a long time, and Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, the Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, actually visited the place and took a photograph of the ruins in 1912.<sup>11</sup> In connection with what has been said and written against that scholar for his supposed failure in recognising the importance of Mohenjo-Daro, Prof. R. D. BANERJI clears up the blame attributed to Dr. BHANDARKAR by stating that upto 1922, archaeologists in India scarcely expected to find ancient or prehistoric remains in India.<sup>12</sup> Prof. BANERJI was the first to discover the antiquity of Mohenjo-Daro<sup>13</sup> in December 1922. During the five winters of 1918-22, he was surveying along the old dried up channels of the Beas and the Indus to discover, if possible, the twelve stone altars erected by Alexander the Great when he commenced his retreat from the Beas. In the course of his quest, Prof. BANERJI came upon Mohenjo-Daro which was then no more than a group of mounds.<sup>14</sup> His discovery of Mohenjo-Daro as a prehistorical site, as observed by himself, "was due in the first place to an accident, and in the second place to my previous training under Sir Thomas HOLLAND and the late Dr. Theodor BLOCH in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I stumbled upon Mohenjo-Daro by chance."<sup>15</sup> In June 1924, after collecting his finds and comparing them with the antiquities from Crete, Prof. BANERJI went to Simla, where Sir John MARSHALL, Director General of Archaeology in India, at once realised the importance of the discoveries; further finds from Harappa came at that time. Sir John, as a member of the British School of Archaeology in Greece was familiar with Cretan and Mycenaean antiquities, and he drew the attention of the world of scholars and Assyriologists to the prehistoric sites in Sind by his article in the *Illustrated London News* of September 20, 1924.<sup>16</sup>

The actual site measures about 240 acres of a level plain between the Western Nara and the Indus, the excavated portion covering an area of 13 acres. It is divided into a number of areas for purposes of reference and

8. *MIC (Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, by Sir John MARSHALL, London, 1931), p. 1.

9. *JRAS*, 1932, p. 456 n 1.

10. *Mahan-jo-Daro*, Karachi, 1933, p. 1.

11. *ASR*, Western Circle, 1911-12, pp. 4-5; also, *Modern Review*, January 1925, pp. 111-112.

12. *Cal. Mun. Gaz. (Calcutta Municipal Gazette)*, 4th Anniversary No., pp. 90-91.

13. *MIC*, p. x.

14. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., pp. 90-93.

15. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 91.

16. *Modern Review*, December 1924, p. 673.



separate delineation by the Department, named probably after the officers who excavated them. The mound to the northwest is called the Stupa Area, as a Buddhist Stupa was unearthed there, the portion to the south being called the SD Area. L Area lies further south. HR Area lies to the south of the East Street, and the First Street runs through it. Just to the north of the HR Area stands what is called the VS Area. DK Area covers the eastern portion, and towards its northwest is the E trench.<sup>17</sup>

The excavations of Prof. BANERJI in 1922-23 were confined to the three temple sites on the Stupa Area, and subsequent seasons brought different officers on the field as Prof. BANERJI had completely broken down in health. In 1923-24, the excavations were continued by Pandit VATS, and by Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT in 1924-25. Sir John MARSHALL directly took charge of the operations in 1925-26 with an adequate staff and an army of labourers, over a thousand strong. The work was continued in the following year by Rai Bahadur SAHNI and Dr. MACKAY, while the latter was in charge of the excavation work since 1927-28. Offices, workrooms and comfortable quarters for the staff were erected and a small museum was built to house the antiquities after Sir John undertook the excavations. A serviceable road was also built from the Dokri Station.

The level of the plain around Mohenjo-Daro was 25 to 30 feet below its present level in the Chalcolithic period. In winter, when alone excavations are feasible, the subsoil water comes within some 15 feet of the surface, preventing deep digging and the final determination of the stratification from the virgin soil. Between the level of the subsoil water and the summit of the mounds, Sir John MARSHALL has recognised not less than seven strata, which, according to him fall into three classes, the first three belonging to the Late Period, the next three to the Intermediate, and the last to the Early Period.<sup>18</sup> Antiquities in all these layers are homogeneous, the only point of difference between the different strata being that the buildings of the Late Period are meaner and more poorly built than their predecessors.

The ruins at Mohenjo-Daro look, according to Sir John MARSHALL, "like a modern working town in Lancashire, plain and completely devoid of ornamentation and indicating stark utilitarianism in the views of the builders."<sup>19</sup> The broad, straight, main streets run parallel, exactly north and south; and the substreets branch off from them at right angles dividing the city into blocks, each roughly a square or oblong. Inside this square or oblong the area is intersected by a number of narrow lanes crowded with houses. Each lane has a public well, and most of the houses have each a

17. Cf. the general site plan, aerial view and plans of various sections as given in *MIC*, as also in *Further Excavations*.

18. *MIC*, p. 10; cf also, *Further Excavations* (*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, by E. J. H. MACKAY, Delhi, 1938) pp. XIV-XV; *Explorations in Sind* (by N. G. MAJUMDAR, Delhi, 1934), pp. 9, 25 f, 36 f, 49 f, 66 f, 81 f, 93, 150 f; *Excavations at Harappa* (by M. S. VATS) pp. 9-10; 80 ff; 122 ff; 180 ff; etc.; also MACKAY, *JRSA* (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*), Jan. 5, 1934, pp. 208-209.

19. *MIC*, p. 15.

private well and a bath. The elaborate drainage system which is the main feature of this ancient site is described later on along with other architectural features.

With all these excavations spread over a decade, it is to be noted that virgin soil has not yet been reached. Dr. MACKAY doubts whether "it will ever be possible to reach the lowest levels without incurring very great expense" for costly pumping machinery.<sup>20</sup> The deepest pit was in the DK Area, which went at the driest season 43' below the surface of the mound, but water was reached at this level.

Before passing to the description of the excavations, it will not be out of place here to refer in brief to the physical aspect of the seat of the civilization at the period when it was at its zenith, as it will explain to a certain extent the peculiar architectural and cultural features of the civilization. The ancient flourishing city of Mohenjo-Daro was not the unattractive spot for human habitation with its scanty rainfall, extreme variations of temperature, dust storms and mosquitoes, which characterize the present site.

"That the rainfall used to be substantially heavier than it is at present may be inferred from the universal use of burnt instead of sun-dried bricks for the walls of dwelling houses and other buildings."<sup>21</sup> Other architectural features evidencing the same fact, as noted by Dr. MACKAY are:<sup>22</sup> the elaborate drainage system, particularly domestic, having fairly large drains, with the pottery water-pipes and water-chutes in the walls of houses; the specially constructed culverts with corbelled roofs "to carry away storm water"<sup>23</sup>; and the thresholds of many houses standing considerably higher than the street level.<sup>24</sup> Some of the animals engraved on the seals such as the tiger, the rhinoceros and the elephant, which are commonly found in a damp jungly country also point to the heavy rainfall, as also do similar climatic changes in the neighbouring ancient sites of Baluchistan. The *Rgveda* also refers to heavy showers of rain falling in the Sapta-Sindhu.<sup>25</sup> The subsequent drying-up of the country, centuries before Alexander's invasion is evident from the accounts of Arrian and other historians. The cause for the climatic change affecting the rainfall is to be found in the change in the character of south-west monsoon, rather than that in the Atlantic rainstorms.<sup>26</sup>

The physical aspect of Sind as determined by the river system was also then different. Sind is now watered by the Indus alone, while as early as the 8th century A.D., the Arabs record another great river flowing east of the Indus, named the great Mihran, whose dry bed is also known as the Hakra or Wahinda. This Hakra is the *Rgvedic* Sarasvatī<sup>27</sup> which was fed

20. *Further Excavations*, p. xiv n 3; *JRSA*, Jan. 5, 1934, pp. 208-209.

21. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 2.

22. *MIC*, pp. 266, 281.

23. *JRSA*, Jan. 5, 1934, p. 212.

24. *MIC*, p. 266.

25. DAS, *Rgvedic India*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 14.

26. *MIC*, chap. I; cf. also, CHILDE, *The Most Ancient East*, London, 1929, p. 202.

27. *MIC*, p. 6; CHANDA, *Modern Review*, August 1932, pp. 153-154.

by the Sutlej, and flowed independently into the sea. If this river drained a part of the water now flowing through the Indus into the sea, "we may visualise the Indus as flowing by Mohenjo-Daro in less formidable volume than it does at present".<sup>28</sup> "The Indus river is now three miles distant, but there is strong evidence that the ancient city stood on the bank of the river, or of an important branch of it".<sup>29</sup>

Now follows a short description of the various excavated areas omitting all unnecessary and uninteresting details concerning the dry and dreary list of antiquities, their classification, their findspots, etc.

**HR Area :** Passing along the cart-track from Dokri Station which runs along the East Street of Mohenjo-Daro, we come across the HR Area which lies to the south of the East Street. It is the biggest excavated area in the site with the DK Area (including G Section) running a close second. This area was excavated by Mr. HARGREAVES and Rai Bahadur SAHNI, and is divided into two sections A and B.

Section A is divided into two blocks consisting of 9 buildings, practically all of which belong to the Intermediate Period. Section B consists of 9 blocks, embracing 65 buildings. The First Street and a number of lanes run through this area. Many of the buildings in Section B have been assigned to the Late Period.

HR Area has yielded important antiquities, such as copper vases with jewellery hoard, cotton, corn and a number of stone weights indicating this to be an important site. Many buildings in this area appear to have been shops, and there is seen a public drinking place in House No. 43 as in modern bazaars. Rai Bahadur SAHNI considers one of the buildings in this area to be sacred.<sup>30</sup> Fragments of sawn steatite and lumps of unrefined copper found in two houses suggest that some houses in this area were used as workshops. It is possible that this area represented the business quarters of the city of Mohenjo-Daro. The find of a considerable number of phallic and baetylic objects as well as the burials in this quarter in contrast to the usual method of cremation may perhaps be explained on the assumption that this portion being a trading centre many business men and traders professing alien faiths resided in this locality.

**VS Area :** The portion known as the VS Area stands immediately to the north of the HR Area and the East Street. The excavations of this site were begun by Pandit VATS in 1923-24 and continued by Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT in the following year. Pandit VATS again directed the work in 1925-26 when Sir John MARSHALL himself was in charge of operations.

VS Area consists of 38 buildings divided into 7 blocks. It has also five lanes. Most of the buildings are private dwelling houses assignable to the Intermediate and the Late Periods. Two deep ditches were dug in this site to the depth of 21 and 36 feet ; but in neither case was the virgin soil reached owing to the inrush of subsoil water. One well in room 6, House VIII, Block

28. MARSHALL, MIC, p. 6.

29. MACKAY, JRSA, Jan. 5, 1934, p. 207.

30. MIC, p. 204.

2, of 4' 5" diameter, was cleared to a depth of 34' 9", but water-level seemed to be still below 4' or 5'.<sup>\*</sup>

Skeletons and funerary vessels and articles were found in different portions. A circular pottery kiln in contrast to the oval-shaped one found in the HR Area is to be seen in Block 4. Generally there is a chamber beneath the staircase, the purpose of which cannot be determined. Possibly it was a privy, or it might have been used as a solid foundation as a precaution against floods which was a common occurrence in those days.

Among the special features of the VS Area may be mentioned the funerary groups and the post-cremation burials found in some half a dozen places, and six skeletons as a result of some accident. It is to be noted that with the exception of a single instance<sup>1</sup> in the Great Bath, all the specimens of post-cremation burials have come from this area. Though the existence of the pottery kiln and innumerable pottery jars, rings, etc., would not justify our inferring this area as the colony of potters, it sufficiently shows the disorganised state of the municipal government in the latest cities. The number of copper articles found in this site is worthy of note, as also are the gaming dies, a whetstone, and a number of stone objects.

DK Area : DK Area lies to the north of the one just described, and the First Street, which forms the western boundary of the VS Area, has been cleared right up to the VS Area.

The excavations of the DK Area were begun by Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT, and in 1927-29, Dr. MACKAY cleared what is called the G Section, lying to the south. Some portions of this site are only partially excavated.

DK Area has been divided into a number of blocks comprising many houses. Some of the buildings belong to the Intermediate Period, while many are superstructures of the Late Period with old material.

The massive building of Late Period at the top of the little hill in Section A with its thick well-built walls and carefully laid pavements of bricks laid on edge was taken by Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT to be a shrine ; and its eminent and isolated position lends some colour to the inference. But very little now remains of the building through the fury of the elements. Possibly, a better preserved temple may be found deeper down as successive shrines are generally built on the same site. Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT and Dr. MACKAY respectively consider Blocks 2 and 3 in Section C to be the remains of temples.<sup>31</sup> The first mirror of the Indus Period was found in the G Section.

The elevated position, massive rooms and buildings, carefully laid masonry, elaborate drainage system, public wells, etc. invest the DK Area with a special importance during the Intermediate Period. Some houses covered an area of over 2580 square feet and an area of about 1520 square feet is fairly common. Besides the buildings taken to be temples, there is one building having a chamber which may have been a hammam with a hypocaust beneath,—hot air bath arrangement. Square-capped wells and a stairway with a landing in the middle are the peculiar features of this site. Two

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31. *MIC*, p. 244.

hoards of jewellery have been recovered from this area. The street to the east of G Section, over 30' wide at places and having a row of shops along its eastern side was possibly a well-frequented road. The street extends considerably to the south and finally communicates with the street in the HR Area. During the later phases of the occupation of Mohenjo-Daro, however, the area seems to have lost its importance, and a portion of it was made over to the potters. In no other quarter is found such a large space given to artisans of any other craft.

**L Area :** L Area lies to the south-west of the city, and has been divided into 4 sections and 11 blocks.

In section C, Block 4, is a pillared hall, 80' square, which is divided into long corridors interspersed with low benches with even seats. One peculiar feature of the hall is that the chief seat is at right angles to the corridors, and platforms between corridors provide two rows of seats only. There are hollow circular structures of brickwork in the street, which may have been tree-guards or some structures associated with temples. In Section D, chamber 45 is a hall, a poor imitation of the large columned hall in Section C.

These pillared halls need not necessarily be taken to have been buildings for a religious congregation. They may well have served as places for purposes of public assembly for which provision in South India was perhaps usually made in open space or under shady trees.<sup>32</sup> The provision of a building in Mohenjo-Daro for the purpose may be due to climatic conditions. Many shank shells, some half-worked, were found at various places, indicating this site as a shell-worker's shop. There were also found pottery dump and the residue of a kiln. The large number of stone statues recovered from this area, viz. three out of the total of nine, is striking.

**SD Area :** SD Area is situated to the north of the L Area. It consists of the Great Bath and the surrounding buildings. The Great Bath was cleared by Sir John MARSHALL in 1925-26. Dr. MACKAY explored some portion in 1927-28 and later on.

**The Great Bath :** The over-all dimensions of the building containing the Great Bath are 180' × 108'. The swimming bath, measuring 39' × 23' with a depth of 8', belongs to the Intermediate Period and is situated in the middle of a quadrangle, having verandahs on all the four sides. At either end, there is a raised platform and a flight of steps, there being another low platform at the base of each flight of steps. The floor is made of bricks laid on edge. The walls of the bath have been made water-tight, the lining of the tank being made of specially trimmed brick in gypsum mortar with an inch of damp-proof course of bitumen. To the south-western corner, there is a covered drain with a corbelled roof, 6' 6" high. Such a large passage was required for clearing the drain by entering into it. Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR suggests that it was intended "as a secret passage for those that may come in completely undressed to have their baths."<sup>33</sup> Dr. MACKAY

32. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Journal of Indian History*, XI, 1932, p. 377.

33. *Hindu Illustrated Weekly*, Aug. 20, 1933, p. 4; *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, 1932, p. 378.

states that he did not find an equal of the very careful finish of masonry of the bath in any ancient work.<sup>34</sup> There is a well in chamber 16 which possibly supplied water to the bath.

On three sides at the back of the verandahs, there are various rooms and galleries. At the southern end there is a big verandah with small rooms on either side. The whole building seems to have been surrounded by a fenestrated wall. The quantity of charcoal unearthed would show the vast amount of timber work in the structure. There are six entrances to the building containing the bath, two towards the south, three to the east, and one towards north. At the northern end of the chambers surrounding the bath there is a staircase, bath-room, water-chute and seats to hold water jars for ablution purposes.

The purpose of the bath is doubtful. Prof. BANERJI states it was the temple of the river god.<sup>35</sup>

There is a hammam or hot air bath, which forms part of the same establishment, near the south-west corner of the Great Bath. It has a number of rectangular platforms of brick about 5' high, having a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides. The heating arrangement may have been made simply to keep the house warm in winter, but the inference that the platforms were the solid sub-structures of the heated rooms of a hammam, and the chases the beginning of the flues for distributing the heat through the walls and under the floors of the room is more likely to be correct.<sup>36</sup> The inference is corroborated by a building in the DK Area already referred to, which also shows that the Indus people knew the principle of hypocaust.

Buildings to the south of the Stūpa Area are divided into 8 blocks, there being one elliptical-shaped well in Block 7.

In 1927-28, large expanse of untouched ground lying between the Stūpa buildings and the Great Tank,<sup>37</sup> and divided into 7 blocks was excavated by Dr. MACKAY. In the middle of Block 4 was found a bath-rooms establishment, there being a stone-covered drain running down the 13' street outside. The establishment consists of two rows of bath-rooms separated by a narrow passage along which runs the well-built drain, each bath-room having a stairway, a narrow doorway, and a carefully paved floor sloping to the drain. "These ablution places", according to Dr. MACKAY, "may have been used by priests who were possibly quartered in cells above from which they descended to bathe."<sup>38</sup> Due regard was paid by the architect of this building to the question of privacy; none of the doorways face each other, and their narrowness coupled with thick door jambs makes it impossible to see inside from without. This establishment, in the opinion of Dr. MACKAY,<sup>39</sup> was meant for the priests, while the Great Bath was for the general public.

34. *MIC*, p. 131.

35. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 99.

36. N. N. LAW, *Ind. Hist. Qu.*, 1932, p. 127.

37. *ASR*, 1927-28, pp. 67-71 at p. 67.

38. *ASR*, 1927-28, p. 70.

39. *Further Excavations*, p. 20.

Remains of small Stūpas of the Kusan period, built of re-used burnt brick were found in this area.

The Great Bath, double rows of bath rooms and vicinity to the Stūpa area are sufficient to connect this area with some religious purpose, possibly "water worship". The importance of the site may also be seen from the number of stone-covered drains.

Stūpa Area : Finally we come to the Stūpa Area lying on the loftiest mound at Mohenjo-Daro, which was the first to resound to the clank of the archaeological spade, being excavated by Prof. BANERJI in 1922-23. It is situated just to the east of the SD Area, in fact, forming a section of the same as the Stūpa section, the other section being the Bath section. A Buddhist Stūpa built on the top of what probably was the sanctuary of the sacred snake,<sup>40</sup> was standing on the mound, and above it there was a later Stūpa of sundried bricks, decorated with fresco-paintings. The Stūpa which originally was 50' from NS and about 74' EW, has a quadrangle surrounding it, consisting of a series of monastic buildings on all four sides. The only approach lies through a pillared hall in the NE corner, a large assembly hall (44' × 26'), outside which there began a grand staircase with broad landings at regular intervals covering the square side of the building like the steps of a Ziggurat. There is a chapel to the north of the vestibule next to which comes a stairway leading to the upper floor. The other large hall beside the Assembly Hall mentioned above is guessed to be the common room in the monastery. The sleeping and living rooms for the use of the monks are ranged round the three sides of the quadrangle, the additional rooms on the northern side, possibly serving as kitchens, pantries and store-rooms. The torpedo-shaped chamber (No. 22) was a tomb according to Prof. BANERJI as he took the large number of pots in the debris to be burial urns ; but they are almost certainly drinking goblets of the Indus people, in the opinion of Sir John MARSHALL, used merely as "in-filling" beneath the staircase which presumably existed there.<sup>41</sup> In chamber 27 some relics connected with post-cremation burial were found, but Sir John MARSHALL does not hold them to be pre-Buddhist as supposed by Prof. BANERJI.<sup>42</sup> So long as the remains of the two Buddhist Stūpas are not completely removed, it will be impossible to determine the entire plan of this prehistoric temple, of which the superstructure only appears to have been of wood.<sup>43</sup> There was a shrine to the NNW of the Stūpa just described consisting of one temple towards the east having its facade decorated with niches. To the west of this shrine is a series of chambers two in each row ; a chamber to the NW corner contained a pavement or altar, on which were found marks of a blackish red

40. BANERJI, *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 95 ; many of the statements in this paragraph are based on Prof. BANERJI's paper, pp. 90-101.

41. *MIC*, p. 120.

42. *MIC*, p. 121.

43. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 96. Prof. BANERJI mentions a wharf to the SSE of the Stūpa where, according to him, boats brought loads of pilgrims and worshippers.

stain. This has been taken by Prof. BANERJI to be an Indian altar of blood sacrifice on a comparison with the similar one from Ur.<sup>44</sup>

This site yielded numerous fragments of painted pottery, miniature figures of animals, ink-pots, lids of vessels and urns. Further deep were obtained finds going back to the Neolithic Age, consisting of scrapers, etc. A number of pictograph seals was an important factor in indicating the antiquity of the whole site. In the various strata were found four kinds of burials.

That this area is associated with a religious character would be evident from the Buddhist Stūpa. To get an exact idea of a sanctuary of the Indus Period, new excavation work will have to be done after the superstructure of the Stūpa is dismantled. By analogy with other sacred sites in India and elsewhere, it can safely be assumed that the building beneath the Stūpa was a temple. There is no other building at Mohenjo-Daro that can definitely be stated as devoted to religious worship.

General Remarks : The ancient city was entered from the north and south by the First Street which is amply wide for both wheeled traffic and pedestrians. The East Street, which is the main thoroughfare through the ruins is wider than the First Street. The finest masonry is that of the earlier levels till the end of the Intermediate Period.

In the words of Mr. BRAILSFORD, "Sumeria had temples of unsurpassed splendour ; Egypt squandered a kingdom's wealth on her pyramids"<sup>45</sup>, but in Mohenjo-Daro the object was to make life more agreeable for the mass of citizens. The superiority of the domestic architecture at Mohenjo-Daro, which we shall presently describe, to its contemporaries is striking. The references in the Vinaya Texts mentioned by Dr. ACHARYA<sup>46</sup> show that the hypocaust or the hot air bath in the Buddhist Age was a lineal descendant of similar devices of the Indus Period. It seems therefore almost certain that India did not borrow the Turkish Bath System from Turkey or any other country to the West.

To get some clue as to the town-planning of Mohenjo-Daro as also to find whether the palaces, temples and other structures could be more definitely indicated, I consulted Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which I place in the 4th Century B.C., contemporaneous with the Mauryan period.<sup>47</sup> The contents of the two chapters on town-planning in the *Arthaśāstra* briefly are : the town was to be circular, rectangular or square in shape ; the palace was to be constructed in the northern portion ; traders and artisans were to occupy sites to the east of the palace ; to the western side were to be housed shops and manufactories and hospitals were to the north-west ; temples were to be erected in the central place of the city ; cremation ground was to be placed to the north or south outside the city ; further off were to be the quarters of the heretics, *cāṇḍālas*, etc. Every group of ten houses was to

44. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 96.

45. *Aryan Path*, 1932, p. 638.

46. *Modern Review*, September 1934, p. 281.

47. The standard works on architecture and town planning, no doubt, treat the subject in great detail, but the *Arthaśāstra* certainly incorporates ancient tradition.



have one well.<sup>48</sup> In view of this, some buildings in the DK Area, the northern portion of the site, may well have been palaces; in fact, many important buildings have been found there. The VS Area appears to occupy a central place in the excavated areas; but it cannot be associated with anything sacred. It is not improbable that the *Arthaśāstra* records a different tradition from the one followed at Mohenjo-Daro with regard to town-planning.

The residents of Mohenjo-Daro were in constant danger of floods, and clear evidence has been found, as to the desertion of the city at the end of the Intermediate III Period.<sup>49</sup> Only about ten years ago, Mohenjo-Daro, though three miles from the Indus, was seriously threatened by an unduly swollen Indus. The city, at places, bears clear evidence of destruction by fire. Possibly seismic disturbances accounted for the submersion of the city. There is a local tradition that the city was destroyed in a single night owing to divine wrath brought by the sins of its ruler.<sup>50</sup>

After these general observations, let us turn to the more important finds in some detail, beginning our description with the Buildings. The buildings thus far unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro fall into three main classes, viz. (i) Dwelling houses, (ii) Larger buildings whose use or purpose has not yet been quite determined; and (iii) the Public baths about which full particulars have already been supplied.

There is much variation in the size of dwelling houses. The smallest have no more than two rooms, while the largest are so vast as to rank almost as palaces. The average house is quite commodious, containing floored bath-rooms and drains.

Open court was the basic feature in the town planning of Mohenjo-Daro and Babylon. Rooms were built all round the courtyard, and doors and windows opened into it. The courtyard was usually paved with bricks laid flat. The upper floor contained the bath and the living and the sleeping apartments, while the ground floor rooms were used as kitchen, store-rooms, well-chamber, bath, etc. There is generally a single entrance from the street, and the outside walls are severely plain, possibly to avoid additional taxes.<sup>51</sup>

Quality, size and shape of bricks: Baked bricks, possibly made from ordinary alluvial soil were very lavishly used in building walls, pavements, bath-rooms, drains, wells, etc. They are always rectangular in shape and vary considerably in size.<sup>52</sup> Even at the lowest levels, "we find well made bricks which would be a credit even to a modern brick layer."<sup>53</sup> In bath-rooms, sawn bricks were used to ensure evenness of floor. None of the bricks has grooves or depressions, and two bricks were found marked on their surface

48. *Kautiliyam Arthaśāstram*, Mysore, 1919, Adhyāyas 24 and 25, pp. 51-57.

49. *ASR*, 1928-29, pp. 69, 72-73. Another flood is recorded between the Early and the Late Periods.

50. BHERUMAL MAHIRCHAND, *Mahan-jo-Daro*, p. 3.

51. *MIC*, p. 283.

52. The sizes vary from 20.25" × 10.5" × 2.5" (found in SD Area) to 9.5" × 4.35" × 2" (Stūpa Area), the commonest size being 11" × 5.5" × 2.25".

53. *MIC*, p. 264.

(L 373 and L 374). Brick-kilns were subsequently found in the DK Area (G Section)<sup>54</sup> in further excavations. Though ordinarily the bricks were rectangular, occasionally we come across L-shaped bricks cut from the rectangular ones, used to fill up corners in the paving of bath-rooms. A brick having a ridge along the longer side, forming part of a gutter, was found in the VS Area. There were also wedge-shaped bricks which were invariably used in the construction of wells. These wedge-shaped bricks were always made in a mould and were of many sizes.<sup>55</sup> In some of the brick work the joints are so fine that a thin knife cannot be inserted in them. Oftentimes, bricks were rubbed down smooth.

**Wells :** There is a considerable variation in the diameter of wells, which were generally round, the largest diameter measuring 7' 2" (2 wells in L Area) and the smallest 1' 1" (DK Area, A Section), the most usual size being 2' 2". The diameter of the well in the great Bath is 6' 2". There are only two wells elliptical in shape at Mohenjo-Daro. Two wells have a square coping at the top.<sup>56</sup> Practically every house had its own well.<sup>57</sup> Public wells were placed between two houses with a pavement of burnt brick around it which sloped down to a drain at one corner. Mud mortar was used to bind the bricks forming the steening of wells. It is not certain whether wind-lasses were used, but the marks caused by the friction of ropes on the copings of wells seem to suggest that water was drawn by hand.

**Bathrooms :** Every house had a separate bathroom which was paved with carefully laid burnt brick. Pavements were coated with a dark red substance<sup>58</sup> to render them waterproof ; flooring was sometimes made four or five courses thick possibly for the same reason. Bathrooms were always placed on the street side of the house and the floor sloped to a corner containing the drain carrying off waste water. " Little series of steps led from the level of the bathing pavement to the neighbouring chambers."<sup>59</sup> Baths were constructed on the upper storeys also as would appear from the vertical drain pipes.

**Floors :** Rooms were floored with any one of the following three materials : beaten earth, sundried brick and burnt brick, the first being very common. Floors of unburnt brick are comparatively rare as such floor is little

54. ASR, 1927-28, pp. 71-76.

55. Largest : 12'05" × 6'75" × 2'25" (DK. C), diameter of the well, 2'9" ; Smallest : 10" × 3'-4'50" × 2'25" (DK. A), diameter of the well 1' 1" ; also, 9'50" × 5'25"-3'25" × 2'25" (DK. C) diameter of the well 3' 9".

56. Two elliptical wells—(i) Block 6, SD Area ; (ii) South of the Stūpa, Block 7. Two wells having square coping at the top—(i) DK Area, C section, Block 10 ; (ii) point M.

57. There is no well in certain houses in Blocks 2, 3, 5 in DK Area, G Section, nor in several blocks in northern section.—Cf. MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, p. 165.

58. Lime, mixed with brick dust, according to Dr. HAMID, MIC, p. 273. The deep red colour, Dr. MACKAY "hitherto attributed to the oils used to anoint the body after bathing ; but the perspiration from bare feet has been observed to produce the same result and oil may not necessarily have been the cause of this patina." *Further Excavations*, p. 166.

59. BANERJI, *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, 4th Ann. No., p. 101.

better than plain earth. Brick floors are very common in most of the finer buildings which are formed by brick laid on flat, in one to five courses, three courses being very common. No evidence was found of cow-dung plaster.

**Doors :** Doors, possibly made of wood, were placed at the ends of the walls, and not in the middle. The doorways are most plain, seldom rebated, their common width being 3' 3"-3' 10". Only one perfect doorway is found upto now, having a corbelled arch which indicates that all doorways were not simply spanned by a flat lintel of wood. Door sockets are very uncommon ; they are made of brick with rough hole scooped in its centre.

**Windows :** Ordinary houses had very rarely windows in their outer walls and sometimes they took the form of mere slits. Possibly windows were situated very high in the wall and consequently have disappeared. Rebated windows in the fenestrated wall around the Great Bath show that windows were considered of architectural value. In some cases windows were protected by gratings. The big apertures for drain water were possibly used for admitting light also.

There are niches in the walls, some of which may have been used as seats. Those that are too high above the pavement were, according to Dr. MACKAY, used as ventilators ; Sir John MARSHALL, on the contrary, pronounces them to be "merely sunk panels."<sup>60</sup>

**Stairways :** Stairways are found in nearly every house. They were made of solid masonry, and were erected against a wall or in a narrow passage between two walls. They were built straight and steep and never on a vaulting. Treads were unusually narrow and high averaging 11" in height and 6"-8" in depth. These stairways led, not necessarily to the roof, but to the upper storey also. A double stairway has been found in further excavations, with amply wide treads and shallow rises.<sup>61</sup> Stairways leading from the streets to the upper storeys indicate that different families used to stay in the same building.<sup>62</sup>

**Roofs :** Roofs were flat and made of wood.<sup>63</sup> In some walls, beam-holes, generally 9" square, were found, showing that considerable space was bridged over by square-cut beams. Planks placed on these beams were for the support of the upper floor and not necessarily of the roof. In poorer houses, reed-matting was laid on the beams for roofing the house and a coating of mud 2" thick mixed with chopped straw and husk was spread above the matting.<sup>64</sup>

**Walls :** In most walls, bricks were laid in alternate headers and stretchers care being taken to break the joints. A filling of clay or rubble was used between the faces in very thick walls to economise bricks. Walls of late period are not generally well-bonded with the earlier walls, as also with the staircases.

60. *MIC*, p. 276.

61. *ASR*, 1928-29, p. 72 ; MACKAY, *JRSA*, Jan. 5, 1934, p. 212.

62. SARUP, *Gāṅgā*, 1933, *Archæology* No., p. 64.

63. It may be noted that flat roof is very necessary for use as a sleeping place.

64. *ASR*, 1928-29, p. 69.

Outer walls show an inward batter. In a building in the DK Area, G Section, "the slope or batter of the walls is particularly noticeable"<sup>65</sup> rendering the street wider at the top.

Doorless chambers : Latrines : There are some doorless chambers which were possibly used as cellars, or as cess-pits for latrines or also as underground sleeping chambers as in Mesopotamia.<sup>66</sup> Sir John MARSHALL takes them to be solid foundations as a precaution against floods. With the exception of two latrines,<sup>67</sup> no other latrine is definitely identified as yet. It may be quite possible that no latrines were ordinarily provided. Dr. MACKAY later on observes in this connection that "not all that were previously termed ablution pavements or bathrooms proved to have been used for that purpose. Some few of the smaller ones were undoubtedly privies."<sup>68</sup>

Before we consider the larger buildings a few observations may be made regarding structures which have been taken to be shops. Houses 32-42 in Block 5 in the HR Area are built in uniform style, most of them having a single room in front, with one or two rooms at the back ; the front rooms served as show rooms and those at the back as storage rooms. Alternatively, the houses are taken to be the servants' quarters attached to House 30. A masonry bench in the street outside House 10 in Block 3 of the DK Area suggests the owner to be a shopkeeper. A similar bazar bench was unearthed in Further Excavations by Dr. MACKAY, which also revealed some structures which may have originally been taverns.<sup>69</sup> These shops and taverns are by the side of the important thoroughfares of the city.

With regard to the larger buildings, Dr. MACKAY has observed that some of the buildings earlier indicated as temples were later taken to be Khans, on a further study of their surroundings and positions.<sup>70</sup> With the possible exception of the building housing the Great Bath no building has as yet been cleared that can definitely be termed religious. It is just possible that the ground plan of temple or shrine may have been very simple and not materially different from that of an ordinary dwelling house. In the words of Dr. FRANKFORT, "unless the structure called a public bath at Mohenjo-Daro be of a sacred character, not a single sanctuary has been found."<sup>71</sup> The great enclosure in the SD Area (Block 10) may, according to Dr. MACKAY, have been used for collecting payments in kind for the temple revenue.<sup>72</sup>

The great structure near the Stūpa which has been named the Collegiate Building by the Archæological staff was longer than the Great Bath. On account of its close proximity to the presumably sacred building beneath the Stūpa, Dr. MACKAY suggests that it may have been the residence of some high official, the high priest, or a college of priests.<sup>73</sup> One remarkable feature about this building is that it is a single architectural unit. Its fenestrated walls

65. MACKAY, *JRSA*, Jan. 5, 1934, p. 211.

66. *MIC*, p. 274.

67. *MIC*, p. 207.

68. *Further Excavations*, p. 166.

69. *Further Excavations*, pp. 29-30.

70. *Further Excavations*, p. 119 ; also pp. 92, 116.

71. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, VII, 1934, p. 5.

72. *Further Excavations*, p. 17.

73. *Further Excavations*, p. 10.

were copied from those of the Great Bath. Extra thickness of the outer walls indicates the unusual character of the building showing that it probably stood two or more storeys high. It is again noteworthy that no trace of any well was found in the upper levels of this block.

Lastly in considering the civic architecture we come to the elaborate drainage system, the like of which has not yet been found in any other city of the same date, even outside India.<sup>74</sup> House drains are somewhat rare as the kitchen and the bath were always adjoining the street. Every house had one or two holes in the street walls for taking off waste water which discharged into the street drains or the pottery soak-pits; while better class houses had well built brick sediment pits. Some houses have vertical pottery drain-pipes into the thickness of the walls, connected with brick water-channels. Every street and lane had one or two water-channels with removable brick or stone covers, generally 18" to 2' below street surface. Gypsum and lime plaster were used for flooring the drains in the Stūpa Area. Ordinarily the floor was one thickness of brick laid on flat. A peculiar feature is that all drains are covered, those in the Stūpa Area being covered with lime-stone blocks. In corbelled drains, culverts were intended for workmen to clear the water-channel. Some sediment pits had holes through which water percolated into the ground. Most of these were connected with the smaller drains in alleys, which in their turn carried off the water into the main street drains. All these soak pits and drains were occasionally cleared by workmen, and the drains have at intervals soapways and manholes for cleaning. "We find little heaps of sand" writes Dr. MACKAY, "still lying beside the channels where they have been cleared."<sup>75</sup> "Sewage and arrangement of drains are complicated and yet so perfect that any modern town will really be proud of having."<sup>76</sup> Dr. SARUP notes in this connection that even Lahore is put to shame by the drainage system of ancient India.<sup>77</sup>

The city was systematically laid out in rectangular blocks after methodical planning, and not built haphazard. The Indus people thus had clear ideas about town-planning. This is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions of Mohenjo-Daro, the successfully aligned streets, the orientation of all the principal streets to the point of the compass, the correspondence of the houses and public buildings with the orientation of the thoroughfares, etc. The main streets are 13' to 30' in width, while the lanes vary from 3' 8" to 7' in width. Corners of some of the streets are slightly rounded. Thin cross walls bar some of the streets showing an attempt to divide the city into wards.<sup>78</sup> Many instances of each adjoining owner having a separate wall only 6" apart imply that law was implicit regarding house property; but in Late III Period,

74. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* also mentions underground drains—Mysore, 1919, p. 167.

75. *JRSA*, Jan. 5, 1934, p. 212.

76. A. S. IYENGAR, *Hindustan Times*, 21-2-32.

77. *Gangā*, 1933, *Archæology* No., p. 65.

78. Something about municipal administration will be told in the next article.

encroachments on minor lanes suggest that the city administration was somewhat disorganised in that period.<sup>79</sup> It cannot definitely be stated whether the city was fortified or not. There were possibly no parks or public or private gardens in the city.

We may now note the general architectural features of the Indus Civilization. The foremost appears to be that the true arch was unknown to the Indus people, only the corbelled arch was used. There is an absence of round column at Mohenjo-Daro; when required, which was but rarely, the columns were always made square or rectangular in section. Round columns were well known at Kish, Telloh, and in Elam. Bricks used at Mohenjo-Daro were rectangular, while those in Summer were plano-convex. The custom of erecting buildings on artificial platforms to avoid their being flooded was common in Sind and Babylon. Stark utilitarianism seems to be the motto of the Indus Valley people. They have larger rooms and houses than the Summerians, and their drainage system is unparalleled in the ancient world. In the Indus valley, in the words of Dr. FRANKFORT, "domestic and civic architecture in general is . . . much more luxurious and highly developed than that of Babylonia or Egypt."<sup>80</sup> Mr. BRAILSFORD states that the architecture of the Indus people is rather solid than beautiful, though they may have carved wood,<sup>81</sup> traces of which are unfortunately not left owing to the saline character of the soil.

We now pass on to a brief description of other sites excavated in the Indus Valley. The mounds at Harappa are a prominent landmark in the countryside visible long distances away. As compared to Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa is larger in extent and enjoyed a much longer span of life. It reveals distinctly earlier and later phases. There is sufficient internal evidence of higher rainfall in prehistoric period as at Mohenjo-Daro, and the stratification is followed on the basis of Mohenjo-Daro.

Harappa presents very nearly the same features and hence instead of repeating the common things, I have drawn attention to the peculiar features of Harappa. Buildings at Harappa may be classified under (i) dwelling houses, and (ii) public buildings. These show the early use of burnt brick. Houses of mud and mud brick, however, are also met with side by side. Floors were made either of mud or of bricks laid flat or on edge. Bathrooms were almost invariably paved with well-rubbed bricks with very fine joints.

No windows are to be seen at Harappa; nor can any be expected at the height at which the walls in the few houses left to us stand at present. Only three stairways have been discovered so far. Their risers are high, and the treads narrow.

As may naturally be expected drains made of burnt brick, of several kinds, are found at Harappa also. Wells, however, are rare as compared to Mohenjo-Daro. In all about six specimens, situated at long distances from each other, have been found, and all of them appear to be public wells. Their diameters

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79. ASR, 1928-29, p. 70.

80. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, VII, 1934, p. 5.

81. *Aryan Path*, 1932, p. 639.

varied from 1' 10" to 7". Sometimes wells appear to have been used also as piau or free stalls for water.

The most remarkable and the largest building at Harappa is the Great Granary, which measures 169'  $\times$  135'. It comprises two similar blocks with an aisle, 23' wide, between them, which was once roofed over. Each block contains six halls, alternating regularly with five corridors, in all cases the walls rising to a uniform height. Each hall in its turn is partitioned into four narrow divisions by three equidistant full length brick walls terminating in broader piers. The halls evidently had timbered floors which rested on the partition walls below.

Another discovery at Harappa is what is called the Workmen's Quarters, which bear a striking resemblance to Workmen's Cottages at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt. These evidence careful planning in the Indus Valley far ahead of any contemporary attempt. Fourteen small houses, built in two blocks of seven houses each, separated by a long narrow lane, with a similar lane at either end, have so far been discovered. These lanes again are regularly intersected by a series of six cross-lanes, thus making each dwelling open on all sides. Each house is rectangular, and consists of a courtyard and two rooms, the smaller one covering the entrance passage and the bigger room at the back of the courtyard. The entrance blocks any view of the courtyard from outside.<sup>82</sup>

Finally we come to the Explorations in Sind conducted by Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR during 1927-29. Mr. MAJUMDAR excavated a number of places during this period, important among them being Jhukar, Amri, Chanhudaro, Lohri, Kohtras, etc. Amri culture antedates some phases of the Mohenjo-Daro culture, while Jhukar represents a later phase.

Dwellings at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, as already observed, were constructed with burnt bricks, and in some cases, were more than one storey high. At the hill sides excavated by Mr. MAJUMDAR, on the other hand, bricks were never used. These houses were made of stone at the base upto a height of 2'-3'. Rough-hewn stone blocks were used which were often laid with mud mortar. For foundations, stone rubble was frequently employed. Absence of masses of blocks of stone in the debris shows that stone was not used for superstructures; but they were built of mud and such perishable materials as reed and wood. No definite information is available as to the material of which roofs were made.

So far no fortifications have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa. At Ali Murad and Kohtras, however, are found fortresses or fortified palaces made of stone showing that the people had some knowledge of fortification. Stone was not easily available in the Indus plains, and naturally was not used as a building material, except for covering street-drains.

Neither stones nor bricks were discovered at the sites around Lake Manchhar, but pottery and chert flakes embedded in pure silt. This is very significant in the opinion of Mr. MAJUMDAR, as it suggests that here the people

82. VATS, *Excavations at Harappa*, Intr. and pass,

lived in pile dwellings like the lake-dwellers of Europe, in the midst of the lake or close to the edge of water. Lake Manchhar even now has dwellings somewhat akin to these.<sup>83</sup>

Chanhu-Daro was excavated after Mr. MAJUMDAR by Dr. MACKAY in 1935-36 on behalf of the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. So far as the architectural remains are concerned, Chanhu-Daro presents the same state of Indus civilization as at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

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83. MAJUMDAR, *Explorations in Sind*, pp. 26 ff. 145 ff.



## KAVINDRA PARAMANANDA AND KELADI BASAVABHŪPĀLA

By

Shri P. K. GODE, M.A.

SINCE the publication of the *Sivabhārata* of Kavindra Paramānanda there has been an increasing curiosity among lovers of the Maratha history to know more about the personal history of this great poet who composed the *Sivabhārata* by the order of Shivāji the Great. Any references to this poet or his work in contemporary and subsequent sources of history are, therefore, most welcome as they are likely to bring into historical relief the personality of this poet having contact with the Maratha royal family during the middle of the 17th century. I propose to deal in this paper with one such reference and to state my reasons for presuming that it pertains to Kavindra Paramānanda and to no other Kavindra. According to the *Keladinṛpavijayam*<sup>1</sup> of Lingaṇṇa Kavi composed about A.D. 1770 the following chronology is recorded for two Keladi rulers with whom I am concerned in this paper :—

- (1) Cannammā,<sup>2</sup> the wife of Somaśekhara Nāyaka of Keladi ascended the throne on 14th March 1672 in the palace at the fort of Bhuvanagiri.
- (2) On 28th July 1672 Cannammā adopted as her son a member of the royal family named Basavappa Nāyaka and then gave him proper education.
- (3) Cannammā died on 22nd July 1697 and Basavappa Nāyaka was crowned King in the Veṇupura palace.<sup>3</sup> Basavappa reigned for 17 years.
- (4) On 19th January 1715, Somaśekhara the eldest son of Basavappa Nāyaka was coronated in the palace at Veṇupura.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) Somaśekhara died on 14th May 1739 and was followed by Basavappa Nāyaka, the son Virabhadra Nāyaka.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear from the above chronology that Basavappa Nāyaka, the adopted son of Queen Cannammā was heir apparent to the Keladi throne

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1. Vide p. 50 of *Śivacaritra-Vṛttasamgraha* (Khaṇḍa I—Kānaḍi Vibhāga) B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1938. Mr. P. B. DESAI here gives a summary in Marathi of *Keladinṛpavijayam* (in Canarese).

2. Vide pp. 203-204 *Mysore Archaeological Report* 1938 where we find recorded a copper-plate grant dated 16th September 1673 of the Keladi queen Chennamāji in Kannaḍa language and characters. On p. 208 of this *Report* reference is made to the renovation of a temple by Veṇkaṭappa Nāyak of the Keladi line on 18th April 1619.

3. *Śiva° Khaṇḍa* I, p. 69. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 70. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

from A.D. 1672 to 1697 and actually ruled the state *between* A.D. 1697 and 1715. The education given to him by his mother Cannammā must have been responsible for the literary productions now ascribed to him viz. :—

(1) *Śivatatvaratnākara*<sup>6</sup> and

(2) *Subhāṣita-Suradruma*.<sup>7</sup>

“During Basava's minority Cennāmbā acted as regent and once vanquished the forces of the general of Emperor Aurangzeb. Basava was proficient in Śivādvaita and worshipped Śiva in the form of Vīrabhadra. He had the titles, Rājādhirāja, Koṭikolāhala, and Parayādavamurāri”.<sup>8</sup> Basava composed his encyclopædic work *Śivatatvaratnākara* in 1709-10 A.D. during the period of his reign viz. A.D. 1697-1715. The date of the *Subhāṣita-Suradruma* has not yet been determined because the MSS. of this work are rare.<sup>9</sup> Recently I acquired a MS. of this anthology for the B. O. R. Institute. This MS. contains only three *Skandhas* of the work viz. I, II and IV. In Skandha I we find many verses in praise of specific poets<sup>10</sup> introduced under “विशिष्ट कविप्रशंसा” section (folios 88 to 92). Some of these poets are not much removed from Basava's life-time. Among such names I may mention (१) अप्पयदीक्षित, (२) गुरुराम कवि, (३) and रत्नखेटदीक्षित. Gururāma-Kavi is said to have been a younger contemporary of Appaya Dīkṣita, while Ratna Kheṭa Dīkṣita was a contemporary of Appaya and Govinda Dīkṣita.<sup>11</sup> The extreme limits of Appaya's literary activity are stated to be 1549 and 1613 A.D.<sup>12</sup> and consequently the lifetime of his junior contemporary Gururāma-Kavi may lie between say A.D. 1600 and 1650.

6. AUFRECHT makes the following entries regarding this work in his Catalogue :—

CCI, 648—“शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर —by Kerali-basavarāja. Mack. 105. Mysore 8. Sūcipatra 43.”

CCII, 154—“शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर by Basavarāja. (Govt. Ori. Libr. Madras 95).

7. AUFRECHT CCI, 728—“सुभाषितसुरद्रुम by Keḷadi Basappa Nāyaka —Rice 246”.

8. Vide p. 272 of Krishnamachariar : *Classical Sans. Literature* (1937).

9. Poleman records the following MSS. of the *Subhāṣita-Suradruma* on p. 106 of his *Catalogue of Indic MSS. in U. S. A. etc.* (1938) :—

“No. 2230—*Skandha* 4 called Vairāgya *Skandha*, 8 folios—Jacks end.

No. 2231.—Do—*Skandha* 2, 220 folios + 3 ff. of Contents—Śaka 1742”= A.D. 1820.

10. These poets are :—

व्यास, वाल्मीकि, कालिदास, दंडि, बाण, मयूर, धीहर्ष, माघ, बिल्हण, मुरारि, जयदेव, धनंजय, कृष्णकवि, व्यासभारती, शाकल्यमल्ल, कर्लिंगकवि, सुदर्शन, क्षेमेन्द्र, गुरुराम, अप्पयदीक्षित, हरदत्त, भर्तृहरि, अकलप्य, लोकानंदकवि, सूक्तिसागर, राजनाथ, कविराक्षस, संतानकवि, रामानंद सरस्वती, सुबन्धु, कवीन्द्र, तिरुमलकवि, रामभद्र, रत्नखेट दीक्षित, गोविंदराज, सिंगराजा, सिंग-भूभुज, शिवराम, अमरः, अचलः, अभिनंदः, जयदेव, आचार्यगोवर्धन, कविराज etc.

11. Vide p. 234 of Krishnamachariar : *HCSL*.

12. Vide p. 266 of S. K. De : *Sans. Poetics* I, 1923.

In the section of the *Subhāṣita-Suradrume* in which the above poets are mentioned and praised in a few verses Basava mentions a poet of the name “कवीन्द्र” and praises him in two verses as follows :—

Folio 91— “कवीन्द्र ॥ आ ॥

शुकचंचूपुटदलितस्मरचापविनिःसरद्रसास्वादः ।

कस्मै नाम न कवये स्वदते वदते कवीन्द्रवाग्गुंभः ॥ ५३ ॥

॥ मा ॥ जयति सकलविद्यावाहिनीजन्मशैलो

कुभणितपरिवृत्तिभ्रान्तिविभ्रान्तिशाखी ।

निखिलकुमतमार्याशर्वरीबालसूयों

निगमजलधिबेलापूर्णचन्द्रः कवीन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

The above verses are followed by verses in praise of अप्पय्य, तिरुमलकवि, रत्नखेटदीक्षित and others. The question now arises : Can we identify this विशिष्ट कवि of the name कवीन्द्र ?

There are two famous poets of the name कवीन्द्र who flourished between A.D. 1600 and 1675 viz. (1) कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती and (2) कवीन्द्र परमानंद author of the *Sivabhārata*. These poets were celebrated for their learning. But of these two *Kavīndras*, so far as poetry is concerned Kavindra Paramānanda seems to have had better poetic qualities than those noticeable in the extant writings of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. I am, therefore, inclined to presume that Basava refers to Kavindra Paramānanda in the extract from his *Subhāṣita-Suradruma* quoted above and to no other Kavīndra.

My reasons for the above presumption are :—

- (1) Kavīndra Paramānanda was closely associated with the life and exploits of Shivāji the Great, as revealed by his *Sivabhārata*. His fame must have spread far and wide not only in Mahārāṣṭra but also in outside circles on good terms with the Maratha royal family.
- (2) Somaśekhara Nāyaka of Keḷadi who died in 1672 may be regarded as contemporary of Kavīndra Paramānanda.
- (3) Cannammā, the wife of Somaśekhara Nāyaka ruled from A.D. 1672 to 1697, a period of 25 years. She appears to have been also a junior contemporary of Kavīndra Paramānanda who composed his *Sivabhārata*, by order of Śrī Shivāji Mahārāja between A.D. 1661 and 1674.<sup>13</sup>
- (4) Cannammā ruled at Keḷadi<sup>14</sup> in the Shīmoga District of the Mysore

13. Vide p. 20 of Upoddhāta to *Sivabhārata* ed. by S. M. DIVEKAR, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1927.

14. Vide p. 508 of *Imp. Gazet. of India*, Vol. V (1885). From 1560 to 1640 Ikkeri was the capital of the Keḷadi chiefs. The cradle of the dynasty was at Keḷadi in Shimoga district and its members fixed their residence finally at Bednur or Nagar. Bednur was captured by Haidar Ali in 1763 and the territory of the Keḷadi chiefs was annexed to Mysore. The dynasty took its name from Ikkeri, a village in Shimoga District and its currency was known as Ikkeri *pagodas* or *phanams*. All that now remains of Ikkeri is the temple of Aghoreswar containing effigies of three chiefs.

State and her contact with the Maratha royal family is recorded by her son Basava, who succeeded her, in his work the *Sivatattvaratnākara* (Taraṅga VIII). According to Basava's statement,<sup>15</sup> when the Mleccha ruler Avarangasāb (Aurangzeb) made war on Rām Rāja, who had the title *Chatrādhipati*, Rām Rāja fled from his kingdom and ultimately took refuge in the kingdom of Chennamāmbā. She received Rām Rāja with kindness and made him presents of valuable clothes and jewels. The Mahammadan general who was pursuing Rām Rāja was defeated by her army and driven back.<sup>16</sup>

- (5) Cannammā gave Basava a good education as stated by Basava himself in Taraṅga VIII of his *Sivatattvaratnākara* :

“ अस्माकं सर्वविद्यासु कारयन्ती परिश्रमम् ”

15. Liṅgaṇṇa also gives a detailed account concerning Rājārāma's escape from the Mughals in his *Keḷadīnṣpaviṇaya* and the help given to him by the Keḷadi queen Cennamāji (Vide p. 194 of *Sardesai Comm. Volume*, 1938—Dr. B. A. Saletore's article on the value of Kannaḍa Sources for the *History* of the Marathas).

16. Vide p. 363 of *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, by S. K. AIYANGAR, Madras, 1919.

“ *Sivatattvaratnākara* VIII.—

ततश्च सर्वयवनसार्वभौमस्थितिं गते ।  
 नृपश्रेष्ठान्द्विपञ्चाशत्संख्याकान्वलवत्तरान् ॥  
 उन्मूलवैरितां प्राप्तं छत्राधिपतिसंज्ञितम् ।  
 रामराजनृपं जित्वा गृहीतुमभिवाञ्छति ॥  
 म्लेच्छेऽवरंगसाबाह्ये समयाते बलीयसि ।  
 कालं प्रतीक्षमाणोऽथ निर्गत्य स सुधीस्ततः ॥  
 चरित्वा तत्र तत्रापि नृपो मार्गवशागतः ।  
 समागतोऽभवद्देशमिमं तु सपरिच्छदः ॥  
 स्वदेशं समुपायान्तं रामराजं विभाव्य सा ।  
 महतामपि शूराणां बलिनां नीतिवेदिनां ॥  
 पराभवस्तत्र तत्र पूर्वेषामपि दृश्यते ।  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 तस्मादुपागतायास्मै सम्माननमिहोचितम् ।  
 इत्यालोच्य निजैस्सार्धं मन्त्रयित्वा च मन्त्रिभिः ॥  
 महार्धवस्त्रभूषाद्यैर्मानयामास मानितम् ।  
 अनुधाव्य तमायान्तमुद्धतं म्लेच्छनायकम् ॥  
 वर्ण्यमानेनाब्धिनेव स्वबलेनानुधावितम् ।  
 स्वाम्याज्ञाचण्डवातेन प्रेर्यमाणे-वेणिना ॥  
 ज्वलन्तमधिकं भूयो महतामर्धवह्निना ।  
 सेनाप्रधानमुखतः पराजयमवापयत् ॥  
 तत्फलं चानयत्सर्वं यावनं शमनालयम् । etc.

- During the course of Basava's literary studies he may have read Kavindra Paramānanda's *Sivabhārata* between A.D. 1672 and 1697 and he must have been impressed by his poetry in his youth so as to enable him to make a reference to कवीन्द्र in his *Subhāṣita-Suradruma* which appears to have been composed during his regnal<sup>17</sup> period between A.D. 1697 and 1715.
- (6) The Tanjore Court under Shahāji (A.D. 1684 to 1712) patronized many learned men and poets. Sanskrit works of a high order were produced between A.D. 1676 and 1736. The period of this revival<sup>18</sup> of learning at Tanjore is synchronous with the career of Basava between A.D. 1672 and 1715. As the MS. of Kavindra Paramānanda's *Sivabhārata* was preserved at Tanjore, the work itself and its author Kavindra Paramānanda must have been regarded with admiration at the Tanjore Court so that copies of Kavindra's works came to be prepared and preserved at Tanjore, one such copy being that of the *Sivabhārata*.
- (7) What hand the Tanjore pandits had in the moulding of Basava's educational career I cannot say. It is, however, possible to suppose that the revival of learning at Tanjore between A.D. 1684 and 1712 when the Queen mother Dīpāmbikā<sup>19</sup> or Dīpābai and her illustrious son Shahāji were ruling, must have had some influence on Queen Cannammā and her son Basava say between A.D. 1672 and 1697.
- (8) According to the *Keḷadīnṛpavijaya*<sup>20</sup> the Keḷadi King Virabhadra-nāyaka of Ikkeri removed his capital from Ikkeri to Bhuvanagiri

17. The colophon of Skandha I of *Subhāṣita-Suradruma* mentions बसव as "क्षितीन्द्र" It reads as follows :—

Folio 58-59— "इति श्रीमन्निःसीममहिमोद्दामकाव्यद्विषद्वयपट्टातिमसंततनिरंतराय सेवाहेवा-  
कतासादितनिरवप्रहतदनुग्रहसंविन्ननिरादीनवादीनसंविन्नवन्नवोन्मीलदनवद्यविद्योपजीवि ह्यविद्याप्रपंच-  
रहस्यावबोधनपटुतमपाथोधिमथनसमयसमुदितसुधामाधुरीधुरीण संध्यातृत्तप्रवृत्तजटाटीरविकटजटाटी  
कुटीरकृताटीक नर्जर निझरिणीनिर्झर गर्व खर्वीकरण धूर्वह वाग्वैखरी परीपरीपाकसंतो-  
षिताशेषमनीषिपरिष्वरितोष निर्माणालंकमीणाश्रांत विश्राणत निश्चित तरवारिदारित वैरिभूरमणवर्ग  
संसर्ग निरर्गळानंद कंदळित वृंदारक सुंदरीवृंदातिनंदिता प्रतीपप्रताप विजृम्भदम्भोरुहारातिपुराभियाति-  
विधातृप्रसूति सुराधोश हेतितारकानंदचकोरवारसमभ्यर्थिताभ्युदय श्रीमद्राजाधिराज विशुद्धवैदिका-  
द्वैतसिद्धांतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्य येडवमुरारि कोटेकोलाहलैकांगि वीरदोजेदोखंडेराय पश्चिमसमुद्राधीश्वर  
श्रीमत्केळदिवसवक्षितींद्र संगृहीते सुभाषितसुरद्रुमे ग्रंथारंभोचितनत्या श्रीः प्रशंसा निदात्मकः  
प्रथमस्कंधः ॥ "

18. Vide p. 30 of the *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, Madras, 1928.

19. Vide my paper on Raghunātha Sūri, a protégé of Dīpāmbika (*Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1941). Dīpāmbikā was the queen of Ekoji, the brother of Shivaji and founder of the Tanjore kingdom.

20. *Siva Caritravṛtta Saṅgraha* (B. I. S. Mandal) (Khaṇḍa I—Kānaḍi Vibhāga) 1938, p. 45.

in December 1637. He later retired to *Venupura* or *Bidnur* fort owing to the campaign of Ranadullakhān (December 1638<sup>21</sup>). Śivappa Nāyaka succeeded Vīrabhadra Nāyaka at Bidnur on 20th November 1645<sup>22</sup>. According to the account of Śivappa Nāyaka Bidnurkar given in the *Shivāji Souvenir*<sup>23</sup>, by Mr. Shyama Sundara Marathe Śivappa was a very powerful chieftain. He died in December 1663. His son Bhadrappa died shortly after this date. Bhadrappa's brother Somā Śaṅkar or Soma Śekhara succeeded his brother but was murdered. His wife Channammā and minor son carried on the administration of the State with the help of their general Timmayya Nāyak. We are further told that Shivāji's campaign<sup>24</sup> against Bidnur took place most probably in A.D. 1664-65 and Soma Śekhara had to surrender with a promise to pay a tribute of Rupees three lacs annually to Shivāji. Shivāji's Vakil Umāji-pant was also kept at Bidnur and allowed to stay by the Bidnur Court. These statements, if correct, clearly prove the close contact of Shivāji's Court with the Bidnur Court from A.D. 1664 onwards, when Kavindra Paramānanda<sup>25</sup> had attained celebrity at the Maratha Court and was in close contact with it.

(9) If Keḷadi Basava, a descendant of Vīrabhadra Nāyaka refers to कवीन्द्र (परमानंद) we find कवीन्द्रपरमानंद referring to Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Bindupura (or Bidnur) in the *Śivabhārata* (Chap. IX, 37) as follows :—

“ ततो बिंदुपुराधीशं वीरभद्रं महौजसम् ।  
.....॥ ३७ ॥

वशीकृत्य प्रतापेन तथान्यानपि पार्थिवान् ।

शाहः संतोषयामास सेनान्यं रणदूलहम् ॥

Here Shahāji is mentioned as subduing Vīrabhadra of Bidnur<sup>26</sup> and

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

23. Ed. by G. S. Sardesai, Bombay, 1927, page 201.

24. The earliest Maratha Chronicle called the *Sabhāsad Bakhār* (composed about A.D. 1695) contains the following remarks about Sivappa Naik of Keḷadi :— *P. 70 of Sane's Edn. of Sabhāsad Bakhār* (1912)—“ There was one Jangam called Śivappa Naik at Bidnur. His town Basnur was very famous. It had no proper approach by land ; hence the King (Shivāji) personally reached the place by ships at daybreak. The people of the place were off-guard and consequently the place was captured and looted in a day. As Shivāji looted Surat and brought much loot therefrom so Basnur gave him plenty of loot which included valuable jewellery and countless quantities of cotton goods of the total value of two crores of HONS.”

25. References to Paramānanda are found in recently discovered Hindi letters dated 23rd and 28th December 1666 and January 1667. These letters refer to his arrest and release by order of Mirza Raja (Jayasing) and subsequent arrest. We do not know if he was finally released. These letters call him “ *Kavindra Kavīśvar Paramānanda of Shivāji's train* ” (Vide p. 2 of Rao Br. G. S. Sardesai's paper --*Indian Hist-Records Commission*, Calcutta, 1939).

26. Kavindra Paramānanda calls it बिंदुपुर while Liṅgannā calls it वेणुपुर.

thus pleasing Ranadullakhān. It would thus be seen that the contact of the *Keḷadi* (or *Ikkeri* or *Bidnur*) Kings with Shahāji, Shivāji and his successors like Rājārāma was a very close one, the Maratha rulers all along playing a dominant part in this contact.

In view therefore, of the close contact of Kavindra Paramānanda with Shivāji's line between say A.D. 1661 and 1674 and in view of the contact of the *Keḷadi* rulers Soma Śekhara, Cannammā and Basava with the Maratha Court between say A.D. 1664 and 1700 I am inclined to presume that Basava mentions and praises कवीन्द्रपरमानन्द in the two verses already quoted in this paper from the *Subhāṣitasuradruma*. The evidence recorded in this paper in support of my thesis is mainly circumstantial, based as it is on the contact of कवीन्द्रपरमानन्द with Shivāji and his immediate successors on the one hand and the contact of the *Keḷadi* rulers Soma Śekhara Nāyaka Cannammā and Basava with these very Maratha rulers between A.D. 1650 and 1700. These contacts being proved historical facts we are warranted to presume a priori that Basava in his mention of a poet कवीन्द्र and in his record of two verses praising this कवीन्द्र, is referring to कवीन्द्रपरमानन्द, the author of the *Sivabhārata*. It is now for scholars of Maratha history to corroborate or contradict my presumption on the strength of substantial contemporary evidence. I shall also be glad to know from these scholars such evidence as they may have to prove the direct contact of कवीन्द्रपरमानन्द with the *Keḷadi* (Ikkeri or Bidnur) rulers during his life-time. Is it possible to suppose that a poet who wandered from Benares to Rajapur<sup>27</sup> paid some visits to Ikkeri and Tanjore as well? If such evidence<sup>28</sup> is forthcoming from direct contemporary sources it is bound to prove my equation of Basava's कवीन्द्र with कवीन्द्रपरमानन्द the preeminent author of the Maratha epic *Sivabhārata*. The cultural trends of the Marathas followed their conquering sword and poets and poetasters, ambitious to make a name, if not a living for themselves, closely followed their exploits and tried to immortalize them by composing works like the *Sivabhārata*, *Radhāmādhava-vilāsacampū*, *Pañḍalaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna* and others which may have been subsequently lost. These works have acted and will continue to act as permanent loud speakers of the glory that was Mahārāṣṭra, in the 17th century and will not fail to pulsate a new and wider patriotism in their hearts, given but a sympathetic understanding and a feeling soul to visualize the past for the benefit of the future.

27. Vide B. I. S. *Mandal Annual* for śaka 1835 (= A.D. 1913) Kavindra Paramānanda and Gāgabhaṭṭ are mentioned in a Sanskrit document of May 1664. This document was issued by Pandits assembled at Rajapur to decide the status of Śeṇvi Brahmins. K. Paramānanda was among these Pandits.

28. Vide p. 3 of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's paper (read at the Calcutta meeting of the Indian Histo. Records Commission) on Kavindra Paramānanda :— "Both Jayārāma and Paramānanda reveal close acquaintance with South India and the discovery of the only copy of the latter's *Sivabhārata* at Tanjore may be taken to indicate South India as the source of its inspiration."

## ĀJĪVĪKA SECT—A NEW INTERPRETATION \*

By

Professor A. S. GOPANI, M.A.

VI.—*Analysis of Gośālaka's Theory of Transformation (Parivartavāda).* GOŚĀLAKA's theory of transformation is to be understood and interpreted with reference to his theory of the world. Looking to the mental development of Gośālaka, it can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that the first theory which he formulated was the theory of destiny (*Niyativāda*) and the second was the theory of transformation (*Parivartavāda*) while his theory of the world was a corollary from these two.

According to the theory of transformation every *jīva* can assume, like the living organism of the vegetable kingdom, the body of the same kind after death for times without number. While according to his theory of the world every sentient human being could inhabit the body of the same kind without dying but seven times only and that too in the birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation. Instead of finding harmony between these two theories, Shri KARAGATHALA sees irreconcilable contradiction<sup>20</sup>. I for one do not agree with him for I believe that there is complete affinity between these theories though we are unfortunate in not having any light from the *cūṛṇikāra* and the commentator. I give below Shri KARAGATHALA's synthesis of these two conflicting (according to him) theories :

(1) Every *jīva* can take birth after death seven times in the same species like a living organism of the vegetable kingdom.

*Note* : He adds the word seven on his own responsibility though it is not specifically mentioned in the first theory (theory of transformation) stating for his so doing that the Jaina and the Buddhistic works often employ the word seven in the respective descriptions of their theories of the world as in seven *saṃyuthas*, seven births of godhood, seven births of demonhood, etc.

(2) It is more proper to believe, Shri KARAGATHALA adds, that a *jīva* is born seven times in the same species after dying rather than believing that a sentient human being can change its abode seven times without undergoing death in the last birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation as formulated by Gośālaka in his second theory of the worldly existence.

*Note* : For his modification of Gośālaka's theory, Shri KARAGATHALA adduces a simple reason that it is neither intelligible nor practicable to change a body seven times without dying. This is in short Shri KARAGATHALA's critical review of both the theories of Gośālaka and his own modification thereon.

\* Continued from *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. Pt. II, p. 210.

20. *Jaina Prakāśa, Utthāna, Mahāvīrāṅka*. (V. S. 1990), p. 86.



My explanation is as under :

(1) Every *jīva* after death can take birth in the same species for any number of times (Gośālaka's theory of rebirth).

*Note* : Simply for the sake of going against Mahāvīra, he started this theory even though he was finally fully convinced of the integral veracity of Mahāvīra's theory.

(2) Controlled and guided by Destiny, he goes on progressing while passing through various grades (theory of automatic evolution).

(3) He has not to bother about good deeds or bad deeds, merit or demerit, *punya* or *pāpa*. Destiny is his friend, philosopher and guide (theory of ethics).

(4) From the standpoint of an individual, the world is limited. His description of it is purely metaphysical, and stereotyped just of the type we find in other sacred literatures (theory of the world).

(5) Emancipation is a surety definitely arising after passing through a pre-arranged cycle of births and deaths (theory of emancipation).

(6) Without dying he has to undergo seven changes in the same body in the birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation (theory of transformation).

*Note* : In order to falsify his exposure by Mahāvīra, I think, as I have made clear in the first part of this article, that Gośālaka had to invent this theory. He found himself on the horns of a dilemma when Mahāvīra, a powerful spiritual leader of those days, undertook unwillingly to expose him. He had either to admit Mahāvīra's statement or to escape through a theory. The first he could not do as egoism ruled high in him ; the second he did as he felt he was sufficiently intellectual. I believe that Gośālaka had used the word *Parivarta* in a figurative sense. Here lies all the difference between my interpretation of the theory and Shri KARAGATHALA'S. He thinks rightly that the theory of transformation is scientifically untenable. Such a change is impracticable. When Mahāvīra said that Gośālaka was formerly his pupil and no more than that, the latter wanted to refute him on somewhat logical grounds and he achieved his desire through his theory of transformation. So when he says by way of a retort to Mahāvīra that Gośālaka who was formerly his pupil was dead long ago, and he was at present Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya in the dead body of Gośālaka, what he really meant to say was that Gośālaka as a one-time pupil of Mahāvīra was now no more from the viewpoint of progress though his body continues to remain. Thus he uses the word *Parivarta* strictly in a technical sense. He may appear Gośālakalike but he is *really* not Gośālaka. *Parivarta* means a change brought about by spiritual progress. Thus he seeks satisfaction of having paid Mahāvīra in the same coin, of having ensured public confidence and, lastly, of having saved his spiritual degradation or death. He took pride of having killed two birds with one stone. Why one should undergo seven '*Parivartas*' and no more is purely arbitrary, or we may willingly subscribe, so far as this is concerned, to Shri KARAGATHALA'S view that the number seven is a patent number used in both the Jaina and Buddhistic literatures. So this is how I would like, in fairness to Gośālaka, to

harmonize all his theories though no one would believe more than I do that Gośālaka was far inferior to Mahāvīra in all good points and deserved no following at all. Before emancipation the last birth (*bhava*) is the birth of a sentient human being in which he has to expedite much of the work which may be still in arrears. It is a momentous life in which he must undergo many extraordinary spiritual changes (*parivartas*). Such a change Gośālaka did in the shop of a pottress named Hālāhalā at Sāvattthī. It was the most extraordinary and the last. Such changes in all amounted to seven. He would not have perhaps invented such a cumbrous and complicated theory had he not been put to infamy through his exposure by Mahāvīra. In my opinion, this is the only plausible explanation of Gośālaka's theory of transformation (*Parivartavāda*).

### VII.—Theory of Ethics.

Gośālaka's theory of ethics can be constructed from his own words which are to the following effect :

"It is never so that one can mature the undue *Karmas* or can destroy the mature ones by adopting a particular line of conduct, observing certain vows, practising the prescribed penances or by adhering to rules of chastity. One cannot avoid passing through a cycle of the world without actually experiencing pain or pleasure unlike the corn in the granary that can be emptied by *drona* (a particular measure) without actually eating the corn. In short, the cycle of the world cannot be shortened or lengthened. It is pre-arranged and one has to pass through it whether he wills it or not, whether he does good or bad deeds".<sup>21</sup> These words contain in a nutshell Gośālaka's theory of ethics. Thus it can be clearly seen that Gośālaka does not believe in absolute good or bad, merit or demerit, *punya* or *pāpa*, virtue or vice. According to him everything is relative and whenever he enjoins a particular duty or discipline, he does it with a design because with him the truth of truths is divine dispensation. It is Destiny that spurs you on to do good or bad deeds. You are not to be praised or blamed for that. In short, this gives one a licence to act as he likes. This theory of ethics is an offspring of his theory of destiny. It is at present not our concern to see how ugly this theory of ethics is from the standpoint of society, politics or religion.

### VIII.—Theory of Eight Finals.

Now I am coming to his Theory of Eight Finals<sup>22</sup> which are : (1) Final Drink, (2) Final Song, (3) Final Dance, (4) Final Respect, (5) Final Tempest, (6) Final Elephant named Secanaka of King Śreṇika, (7) Final War named Mahāśīlakaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma and (8) Gośālaka—the Final Tīrtham-kara of this aeon of decrease. These eight conceptions are styled Final by him because each of them he believes to be a thing par excellence. It is a

21. Cf. *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, Chaps. 6 and 7 ; *Dighanikāya*, *Sāmañyaphalasutta*.

22. *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Sataka* 15, p. 680.

standard, a type by itself. The first four and the last one refer to him while the remaining three to other things. Secanaka elephant of king Śreṇika was perhaps a superb elephant of its kind. This as well as the tempest and the war that took place in Gośālaka's days were perhaps historical. The elephant seems to have proved an apple of discord and a cause for war between Kuṇika,<sup>23</sup> the eldest son of Śreṇika, and Ceṭaka who took the side of two younger sons. In this war large stones were made use of as weapons as the name<sup>24</sup> suggests. Reference to these two Finals clearly indicates that Gośālaka either died after the occurrence of these events or at the most was a contemporary of Śreṇika, Kuṇika, Mahāvīra and Ceṭaka. HOERNLE fixes 484 B.C.<sup>25</sup> as the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (while Muni KALYANAVIJAYJI has proved the traditional date to be true<sup>26</sup>), and according to the *Bhagavati-sūtra*, Gośālaka died sixteen years before Mahāvīra, that is to say, before about 500 B.C.

When Gośālaka discharged the heating power against Mahāvīra, it was made to re-enter Gośālaka's body—its original habitat—by the cooling power of Mahāvīra. This re-entry of his own force effected by the opposite force started burning sensation in Gośālaka's body, to be relieved from which he resorted to various irreligious and objectionable means such as drinking with the result that he sang and danced like a mad man. Or it may be that Mahāvīra's exposing him turned him mad and out of madness he resorted to these foolish practices. Curiously enough he repeatedly paid his respects by folding his hands to Hālāhalā who was his pupil and a follower. These things done even by an ordinary man would have betrayed him to be a mad man; what to talk of Gośālaka, then, who was one of the shrewd and formidable opponents of Mahāvīra? These things thus had all the fear and disadvantage of being misinterpreted. Moreover, it was also not the case that this escaped the notice of Gośālaka who was all the more in a hurry to hide the real motive behind these things and to pass them as religious excellences. Gośālaka has tried, though feebly, to furnish religious background and to give religious interpretation to his conduct which was doubtlessly and definitely despicable.

The term *carama* literally means "final, last" and is applied to a thing which is topping all other things of its kind. Thus the drink he drank, the song he sang, the dance he danced and the respects he gave to Hālāhalā were all final, superb, he meant to say. No one has performed and shall ever perform such things. They are the standard things or a spontaneous conduct of an inspired spiritual leader. They are innocent practices of the last Tirthamkara of this aeon of decrease. He has also asserted his being the last Tirthamkara as the last of the eight finals. Most skilfully and indirectly he preaches that no one should perform such things for the simple reason

23. *Nirayāvaliāo*, p. 5.

24. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

25. *ERE*, Vol. I, pp. 259 ff.

26. *Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa Samvat aur Jaina Kālaganānā*, published by Nāgari Pracārīṇi Sabhā.

that these are finals and were destined as such to be performed only by him. Thus while justifying his breach of gentlemanly conduct, he keeps no room in his system for such a disgraceful demeanour. Really speaking he drank to cool the hot sensation and he knew it, but he justified it on the ground that such a conduct was inevitable in the case of the last Tīrtharīkara who he was. To sum up, what he means to say is that what he did was natural and predestined but at the same time was final. He includes in these Eight Finals the Secanaka elephant, the Stone War and the Tempest simply to secure public confidence which the historical events only are entitled to inspire. Historical events are hard facts which cannot be denied and thus by denying the five unhistorical finals he will have to deny the three historical finals also which no sane man can ever afford to do because all the eight things as finals have an equal claim to belief and recognition. This theory of eight finals has no philosophical, ethical, theological or spiritual significance. It has a historical colour inasmuch as those three historical things are concerned, and it has no meaning beyond it. Remaining five things are the worthless inventions of Gośālaka's brain and therefore it should not engage our attention any more seriously. Instead of revealing his so-called noble motive in fabricating such an absurd theory, it brings in the forefront his lack of character. I am now coming to his Theory of Six Abhijātis.

#### IX.—Theory of Six Abhijātis.

*Abhijāti* is a technical term meaning a soul-characteristic which distinguishes a man from a man. Description of this theory is not to be found in Jaina literature but its underlying idea is gathered from the Buddhistic works. According to it the whole mankind is divided into six groups and every man of the world must belong to one group or the other. The following is a description of this doctrine of Gośālaka according to Buddhaghosha who quotes it in his commentary<sup>27</sup> on *Dighanikāya* from *Āṅguttaranikāya*<sup>28</sup> in which Pūraṇa Kassapa, a contemporary of Buddha, outlines a sketch of six *Abhijātis*. This sketch is as follows :—

- (1) *Kṛṣṇābhijāti* : This characterizes the people doing evil deeds such as fishermen, hunters and others of the kind.
- (2) *Nīlābhijāti* : This characterizes the monks who use the four *pratya-yas* after putting thorns in them.
- (3) *Lohitābhijāti* : This characterizes the monks who wear only one cloth, such as the pupils of Mahāvīra.
- (4) *Haridrābhijāti* : This consists of the Ājīvika laymen and laywomen who put on clean garments.
- (5) *Suklābhijāti* : This consists of the Ājīvika monks and nuns.
- (6) *Paramasuklābhijāti* : This consists of Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁ-kicca and Makkhali Gośālaka.

27. *Sumangala Vilāsini*, I, p. 162.

28. *Āṅguttaranikāya*, III, p. 383.

It is quite apparent that this division has been based on the deeds one does and on the merits one has got. In the Jaina literature we find a similar description of the Jaina doctrine of *Leśyās*<sup>29</sup> which, though agreeing in substance and form with the theory of six *Abhijātis*, is finer and more thorough-going than this. This fact led JACOBI and BARUA<sup>30</sup> to hypothesize that Mahāvīra borrowed this doctrine of *Leśyās* from Gośālaka. This hypothesis is not well-founded as will be seen from the following lines.

From his theory of six *Abhijātis* one can see how bigoted and self-centred Gośālaka was. The fourth and the fifth *Abhijātis* have been exclusively reserved for the followers of his creed and the last for himself, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṃkicca. He seems to have thought that he has hereby increased the value and the excellence of his creed while the real state of affairs is just the reverse. In the first *Abhijāti* he has given (though crudely) the characteristic and an example while in the remaining five we miss the characteristics of all. It is possible to assume, looking to the incomplete nature of the literature of the Ājīvika school, that he might have given the characteristics of other *Abhijātis* as well. He preferred to give examples of his own pupils rather than those of others.' The Jaina doctrine of six *Leśyās* as preached by Mahāvīra gave merely characteristics and those who had particular characteristics belonged to a particular *Leśyā* without any distinction of caste, colour or creed. The Jaina doctrine of *Leśyās* has really much in common with Gośālaka's theory of *Abhijātis* but it is hazardous to conclude only on this ground in the absence of any positive proof that Mahāvīra borrowed his doctrine of *Leśyās* from Gośālaka. As we are not at present in possession of the entire literature of the Ājīvika school we cannot say which of the two doctrines was earlier and who borrowed from whom. It might be that they both would have independently based their theories on the traditions inherited by them.

#### X.—Theory of Eight Life-stages.

The sketch of this theory of eight life-stages is drawn according to the Buddhistic literature because no reference to this also is to be found in the Jaina literature. *Aṭṭhapūrisabhūmi*<sup>31</sup> is the only phrase found in the original texts; it is insufficient by itself and for a detailed view we have again to depend on Buddhaghosha, the *Aṭṭhakathākāra*.

Shri KARAGATHALA differing from Buddhaghosha offers a new explanation,<sup>32</sup> while arguing that this division of life into eight stages appertains exclusively to the spiritual life and not to the life as a whole. I think, no serious consideration should be given to such a trivial matter. It does not make any material change in our estimate of Gośālaka's outlook on life in general. We also have no reason to doubt the authority of so great a scholar as Buddhaghosha even though Shri KARAGATHALA's interpretation may appear

29. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, 34, pp. 572 ff; JACOBI, *SBE.*, Vol. 45, p. 196.

30. *Jaina Prakāśa, Uthhāna, Mahāvīrāṅka* (V. S. 1990) p. 90.

31 *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

32. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

more attractive for the time being. Such a division of a man's life has been attempted by poets and philosophers of all times and climes.

### XI.—Character of the Ājīvikas.

The Ājīvikas passed urine and motion standing, ate and drank standing.<sup>33</sup> Instead of washing the hands, they cleaned them by licking. They did not accept alms from those who invited them or requested them to sit. Nor did they receive alms which were specially prepared for them. They never accepted invitation. And they did not receive alms from a woman feeding or nursing the babe as well as from a pregnant woman. The Ājīvikas did not accept wine or meat or articles from the feast. They lived and moved naked. Some of them ate as much as a morsel or two or at the most seven. Some of them begged only from one house or at the most seven houses.<sup>34</sup> And there were some who ate only on alternate days.

There is also a mention to the effect that these Ājīvikas who practised penance outwardly, took dainty dishes privately and this accounted for their being fat.<sup>35</sup>

In the *Aupapātikasūtra* it is mentioned that some Ājīvikas go to beg alms leaving two houses, three houses or at the most seven houses<sup>36</sup> by turn.

In the *Thānāṅgasūtra*<sup>37</sup> we come across a reference to the austerities practised by the Ājīvikas. They were of four types : (1) *uggatapa* (2) *ghoratapa* (3) *rasañijjuhaṇatā*, and (4) *jibbhindiyapaḍisamlīṇatā*.

In the *Majjhimanikāya*, it is stated by Ānanda, a pupil of the Buddha, to Sandaka that there are two types of *Ācāryas* leading unchaste life. Gośālaka represents the first type and Mahāvīra, the second<sup>38</sup>. So far as the latter is concerned, the statement is full of sectarian hatred : Mahāvīra is taken by one and all, I need hardly stress this fact, an incarnation of chastity and religiosity.

The Buddha has also said that there is none more sinful than one who has a false vision and amongst such people *Moghapuruṣa* (deceptive, cunning) Gośālaka was the foremost.<sup>39</sup>

In the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*,<sup>40</sup> Mahāvīra considers the Niyativāda as a false school of thought. We can take this as a reflection on Gośālaka who, according to the Jaina literature, is considered to be a father of this school of thought.

In the *Anguttaranikāya*,<sup>41</sup> the Buddha has illustrated his estimate of Gośālaka's school by an example of a blanket. He says there that the school of Gośālaka is as worthless as a blanket made up of coarse and prickly hair is among all types of cloth.

33. *Majjhimanikāya*, I, 36 ; p. 238.

34. *Aupapātikasūtra*, p. 104.

35. *Majjhimanikāya*, I, 36 ; p. 238.

36. *Aupapātikasūtra*, p. 104. This is Abhayadeva's interpretation of the phrases *dugharantariyā*, *tigharantariyā* and *sattagharantariyā*, etc. occurring there.

37. *Sthānāṅga*, 4-2-310 ; p. 233.

38. *Majjhimanikāya*, II, 26 ; pp. 514 ff.

39. *Anguttaranikāya*, I ; p. 33.

40. *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra*, p. 28.

41. *Anguttaranikāya*, III, 133 ; p. 286.

In the *Saṅguttanikāya*,<sup>42</sup> Sahali speaks about Gośālaka before the Buddha that Gośālaka does not prefer penance to quarrelsome talks and to censurable deeds. We should take this statement of Sahali at a discount because one would have expected it to be full of praise, Sahali being a staunch follower of Gośālaka.

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*,<sup>43</sup> there is a dialogue between Ārdraka and Gośālaka, in which the latter says to the former that moving alone, cold water, food full of seeds and even the enjoyment of a woman were not at all prohibited for a monk.

In the midst of all these contradictory references there is preserved in the *Majjhimanikāya*<sup>44</sup> a very curious mention that the Ājivikas remain as sons with those women whose sons are dead; they accept the leadership only of Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Samkicca and Makkhali Gośālaka; and they praise themselves while censuring others. This reference is very significant on account of its sure indication to their characterlessness and unchastity as also a reference to Gośālaka's residence with Hālāhālā.

As the records of the Ājivika school are not preserved, we have solely to depend for our knowledge about them on the references found in the Jaina and the Buddhistic literatures. From the foregoing quotations it is quite clear that they lived naked and knew no manners. They practised penance to impress the public and trade on their credulity. Had self-mortification through penance been their goal, they would not have preferred to eat privately. Satyaka's statement that they ate dainty dishes in private lends full support to my inference. It was an age of penance and non-injury. Self-mortification was preached with vigour and vehemence. In such an atmosphere it was suicidal for the leaders of the Ājivika school to give free reins to the cravings of the flesh. So they also, like all other rival schools, made room for austerities but not with sincerity. Self-torture cannot be a real aim in the case of those who were wedded to the principle of divine dispensation. This also proves that they were past masters in the art of *disimulation*. Moreover, when they practised it with some sincerity, they did it with a view to achieving divine powers which were used to inspire awe in the public and to draw it towards them. Eating sumptuous dinners made them fat and sharpened their sexual appetite which they perhaps satisfied in any manner they liked. They even went to the length of staying as their sons in company with sonless women offering services in the form of consolation in times of their adversity. Hereby they could get the best opportunity to preach to them the cardinal principles of the school of destiny and to cultivate a genuine liking for that. This somewhat accounts for the fact that Gośālaka had a large following.<sup>45</sup>

It also makes me suspect that at the same time this provided ample scope and convenience to satisfy their sexual hunger. In all times and climes woman

42. *Saṅguttanikāya*, II, 3, 10; p. 66.

43. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 6; p. 391.

44. *Majjhimanikāya*, II, 26; p. 524.

45. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 162.

has played a really solid though imperceptible part in shaping the course of a man's career. Their company is an oasis in the desert of life. It provides solace to a solitary man in times of adversity and adds flavour to happiness. The practical and cunning Ājīvikas were fully conscious of the efficacy and the influence of woman. Thus while accepting to offer honorary services they reaped all the advantages of a married life without incurring any responsibility of a house-holder. For his propaganda Gośālaka preferred woman to man. His headquarters in the shop of Hālāhalā a pottress in Sāvattthī provide a telling instance. My conclusions regarding the employment of a woman for propaganda purposes have a support from Gośālaka himself who says to Ārdraka to the effect that cold water and the company of a woman are allowed to a monk moving alone.

It is a fact that the Ājīvikas did not drink wine and did not eat meat. It is quite natural that these people would have gone to that length but they did not do so as their prohibition was specially laid down by Gośālaka himself whom they dared not disobey, though we know that he himself drank and danced. In order to justify this inconsistency and contradiction between his word and deed, he pleaded that it was destined in the case of the last Tīrthamkara of this aeon of decrease but no one else should practise it. They could have drunk and justified their conduct on the grounds of predestination but Gośālaka's hold on them was so firm and fast that they could not go against his wishes and injunctions. Drinking wine and eating meat must have been looked down upon as the evils of society in those days and therefore Gośālaka must have prohibited their use as a matter of policy. I purposely use the words "as a matter of policy" because for a fatalist anything and everything is allowed as a policy. To enlist public sympathy, Gośālaka could not have afforded to close his eyes against the prevailing customs and conventions of that day. These Ājīvikas were undoubtedly very sharp-witted as is seen from the repeated warnings sounded by the Buddha against *Mogha-puruṣa* Gośālaka who was really a wizard.

Instead of remaining dependent on the society at large, the Ājīvikas took up a certain profession and maintained themselves therefrom. These professions such as showing pictures, astrology etc. were not necessarily ignoble but they were positively and comparatively less worthy from society's point of view. Ājīvikas mastered these secular sciences, and statements indicating that they knew (especially Gośālaka) *Aṣṭaiganimitta* are not wanting.<sup>46</sup> Three leaders of the Ājīvika school are more known to us. They are Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁkicca and Makkhali Gośālaka. Nothing except the names of the first two is known. According to me the Jaina and the Buddhist references to Ājīvika school point only to the Ājīvika school headed and led by Gośālaka and not by the first two. As I have made clear in the beginning of this essay these three were contemporaries. There must then be some subtle differences between these three schools of the Ājīvika sect. The schools of the first two

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46. *Triṣaṣṭhiśālākāpuruṣacarita* (Trans.), p. 161.



*Ācāryas* were of minor importance. So a reference to the Ājīvika school is a reference to Gośālaka's Ājīvika school and not to a school of any of the first two. Just as there are various schools of Vedānta but Śāṅkara Vedānta is the standard, so also there are various schools of the Ājīvika sect but Gośālaka's Ājīvika school is a standard representative.

It seems these Ājīvikas came later on to be identified with the Digambaras, as is seen in Śilāṅkacārya's commentary on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.<sup>47</sup> For my part I am very reluctant to agree with Śilāṅka as there is essential doctrinal difference between these two schools of thought.

We have no knowledge of the order of the Ājīvika church as we have of the Jaina church. Also we are not in a position to say whether there were any nuns in that school. There were no doubt influential *upāsakas* as Saddālaputta and *upāsikas* such as Hālāhalā. We have no basis to make any statement regarding their dwelling places, like the modern *upāśrayas*, to house the Ājīvika monks. But with all that they had their headquarters in all the well-known cities such as Hālāhalā's shop at Sāvattṭhi.

The Ājīvikas continued to exist in the days of Aśoka and his successors.<sup>48</sup> Dasharatha a grandson of Aśoka had granted caves in the Nāgārjuna hills<sup>49</sup> to the Ājīvikas. All these evidences show that the sect was also respected even by the kings.

## XII.—Summary.

(1) It is very significant that the Buddhistic Literature almost exclusively uses the phrase Makkhali Gośālaka while in the Jaina Literature we find the phrase Maṅkhaliputra Gośālaka used for the same. Buddhaghosha's explanation of the term Makkhali is more or less of a legendary character rather than philological. So also the Jaina tradition has no support from any well-known, authoritative Sanskrit dictionary. Moreover, in Jaina Literature there is a wide difference of opinion among the commentators themselves, namely, Abhayadeva<sup>50</sup>, Hemacandra<sup>51</sup> and others, regarding the meaning of Maṅkhalī. Under such circumstances the derivation of the word Maṅkha from the Skt. word मस्कर<sup>52</sup> arrived at by HOERNLE appears to me more appealing. There was, as he says, on the authority of Pāṇini, Patañjali, Varāhamihira and Bhatotpala (the last depending on the Pkt. *gāthā* of one Kālākācārya) a well-organized sect of monks who carried a bamboo-staff with them. So originally they would have got their name from this symbol but as time went on they would have either dropped the system of carrying

47. JACOBI, *SBE.*, Vol. 45, p. 267.

48. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 181 f.

49. *Op. cit.*, pp. 103 f. and pp. 134 ff.

50. See Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Bhagavatīśūtra*, *Sataka* 15.

51. See Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* under word *Maṅkha*.

52. The word मस्कर means a pipe also. See S. P. CHATURVEDI's article "Pāṇini's vocabulary—its bearing on his date", on p. 50 in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, Lahore, 1940.

it in their hands or some other stronger symbol (e.g. one of employing specific means to maintain) in the form of showing pictures would have superseded the former. The Jaina commentators have made a mess here that they identified the practice of showing pictures with the word Maṅkhali and thus tried to deduce the original meaning of the word Maṅkha from the profession of showing the pictures which they all followed alike. So my interpretation is that Gośālaka belonged to a sect of Ājīvikas whose prototypes were the original Ekadaṇḍins. And, as is quite possible in the history of names, these Ekadaṇḍins came later on to be called Ājīvikas because they adopted certain specific means to eke out their livelihood. Gośālaka who was the prominent leader and a vehement propagandist of the Ājīvika school was thus identified with the class (मस्करिन्) and came to be known as Maṅkhaliputra just as Mahāvīra who is also identified with his ज्ञातृवंश and is equally known as नायपुत्र. So this explanation is quite plausible because it reasonably reconciles both the traditions—the Jaina and the Buddhistic.

(2) The Jaina account which accepts Gośālaka only as the acknowledged founder of the Ājīvika sect is not tenable because a statement to the effect that the Ājīvikas<sup>53</sup> outnumbered the followers of a well-honoured spiritual leader like Mahāvīra, and another statement in the Buddhistic canonical works to the effect that there were other leaders of the Ājīvika sect, namely Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Sarnkicca, indicate that there existed this very sect though under a different name as that of Ekadaṇḍins in Pre-Buddhistic days. Moreover, it can be argued that it would have taken at least some centuries to gain so much popularity as it did in the days of Mahāvīra.

(3) An attempt to connect the Ekadaṇḍins or the prototypes of the Ājīvikas with the Jaina monks of Pārśvanātha's times as well as an attempt to trace the origin of the Digambara sect to that of the Ājīvikas of Mahāvīra's times just as was done by HOERNLE<sup>54</sup> is bound to meet with our disapproval because the fundamental doctrines of the Ājīvika sect are so much diametrically opposed to those of the Jaina school of Pārśvanātha's times and also to those of the Digambara Jaina school that such a comparison seems to be ridiculous. There is no doubt similarity between them but such similarities are found as a matter of fact between several sects. No doubt Dr. HOERNLE has a solid support, in this connection, of no less renowned commentator as Śīlāṅka<sup>55</sup> and also of Halāyudha<sup>56</sup>. Halāyudha of course has evidently depended on Śīlāṅka who is somehow somewhat inconsistent.

### XIII.—Interpretation.

Thus there was, in Pre-Buddhistic days, a well-formed sect of the Ājīvikas who were known as Maskarins or Ekadaṇḍins. They carried a bamboo-staff as their symbol. These Ekadaṇḍins might have received a designation of

53. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 162.

54. *ERE.*, Vol. I, loc cit.

55. Jacobi, *SBE.*, Vol. 45, p. 267.

56. *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, 2, 189-90.

the Ājīvikas in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra probably because they employed some specific means such as showing pictures etc. to maintain themselves as the word *ājīva* shows. Gośālaka was a vigorous exponent of this school as also Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca who represented some sub-varieties of this school. It was based on a lower form of asceticism which was not an end in itself but rather a means. In other words, they turned asceticism into an earning factor. Gośālaka made friendship with Mahāvīra with an evil motive of learning the secret and the art of capturing the mass mind. And he took no time in severing his connection with Mahāvīra when the former was exposed by the latter. He changed his creed off and on so as to meet the pressing needs of his times. There are statements to show that they practised penance, observed fast while they ate in private. Gośālaka might have gone to the length of even establishing sexual contact with women and in some form or the other he preached it also. The Ājīvikas practised different popular tricks, such as magic and fortune-telling, to gain footing in the hearts of people. In a nutshell, they wanted to make capital out of asceticism and leave everything to fate. It is true that they could manage, in this way, to get as large a following as any of the contemporaneous sects but it is a recognized truth that it is quality, not quantity, which can perpetuate a particular creed. The sect had very influential *upāsakas* in the persons of Saddālaputta, Paṇḍuputta and Upaka, and *upāsikā* Hālāhalā. A question, then, naturally arises as to why such a popular sect turned out so short-lived. The answer is not very far to seek. The Ājīvika sect had nothing of some such thing as a coherent philosophy nor did it give any spiritual recipe to the suffering humanity. It provided only a fleeting temptation to credulous people who always have a leaning towards secular sciences such as magic, astrology, sorcery, omens and portents. These no doubt fell victims to machinations, manoeuvres and manipulations of a scheming man like Gośālaka. But they were disillusioned also within a very short period. His *Niyativāda* was a double-edged weapon which cut anyway it liked but that also did not serve him long as it was rendered blunt by Mahāvīra's bold and spirited exposure of Gośālaka. It was the very height of absurdity and inconsistency when he applied the principle of transformation to himself and said that he was not Gośālaka but Udāyi Kuṇḍiyāṇiya in the dead body of Gośālaka. The public took resentment at this shamefast nature of Gośālaka and refused to be further exploited. It changed its course in the opposite direction and assembled under the banner of Jainism and Buddhism. Thus there came a tide in the affairs of the Ājīvika school which did not see again the palmy days. And Gośālaka who elevated it eventually ended it. He invented all the theories according to the changing needs of times. The theory to which he firmly adhered till the last breath of his life was *Niyativāda*. With respect to all other theories he was himself a law-giver and a law-breaker. His Theory of World and Emancipation is a stereotyped one that can neither be proved nor disproved. His Theory of Transformation is so illogical and ridi-

culous that it does not deserve even the name of a theory. He started a Theory of Eight Finals just to justify his misdemeanour in old age and to shield his moral lapses. His Theory of Eight Life-stages is more or less a common property owned by all literatures. His Theory of Six Abhijātis—the origin, according to JACOBI, of the Jaina doctrine of six *leśyās*—is an elaboration of the *Triguna* theory of the Sāṃkhya. So the theory which was the backbone of the Ājīvika school was the Theory of Fatalism which is in some form or the other a lower form of asceticism that advocated a life of stagnation and shut the doors to free will. Therefore we are quite justified in saying that the Ājīvika school was not at all a major school of philosophy and the attempt to consider its points of similarity and dissimilarity with the well-conceived and well-organized systems like the Jaina and the Buddhist schools is not worth while. I repeat, once more, in conclusion that the Ājīvika sect, of which the Pre-Pāṇinian Ekadaṇḍins are the prototypes, is in its turn the original pattern of the present day Jatis, Bāvās, Bhūvās and Garoḍās. Regular references to Ājīvikas are found as follows :

(1) Ekadaṇḍins of Pre-Pāṇinian days ; (2) Ājīvikas of Mahāvīra's times ; (3) reference to Ājīvikas in Berbar Rock Inscriptions of 251. B.C. ; (4) reference to Ājīvikas in the seventh Pillar-edict of Aśoka (236 B.C.)<sup>57</sup> ; (5) reference to Ājīvikas in the *Bṛhajjātaka*<sup>58</sup> and *Laghujātaka*<sup>59</sup> of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.) ; (6) Śīlaṅka's reference to Ājīvikas in the 9th century A.D. in his commentary of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* ; (7) Halāyudha's *Ratnamālā*<sup>60</sup> refers to Ājīvikas (10th century A.D.) ; and (8) South Indian Inscriptions of the 13th century refer to Ājīvikas.<sup>61</sup>

After this there is no authentic reference to the Ājīvikas, and this points to the fact that they became quite disorganized, followed and practised whatever they liked. There was no common tie which could unite them under a common leadership and thus they vanished after thirteenth century leaving as the remnants the modern vagrant, gypsy-like, nomadic Bāvās, Bhūvās, Jatis and Garoḍās.

57. *Indian Antiquary*, 20, 361 ff.

58. *Bṛhajjātaka*, 15, 1.

59. *Laghujātaka*, 9, 12.

60. *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, loc. cit.

61. *South Indian Inscriptions* (Archæological Survey of India), 2, 88, 89, 92, 108.

# SIRICIMDHAKAVVAM OF KṚṢṆALĪLĀŚUKA<sup>1</sup>

By

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[1. The class of works to which *Siricimdhakavvam* belongs. —2. Its author, Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, and his date. —3. Durgāprasādayati, his contribution to the poem and his Sanskrit commentary. —4. The contents of the poem, and its estimate as a Kāvya in comparison with *Kumārapālacarita*. —5. Text of the first canto. —6. Grammatical illustrations from the text studied in comparison with those given in the commentaries of *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. —7. Importance of this poem for the text-problem of the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci.]

1. THE use of Prākṛits in the ancient Indian drama dictated by traditional conventions and the voluntary attachment of Sanskrit rhetoricians for Prākṛit quotations have kept alive the study of Prākṛits in southern India. Both in the medieval and post-medieval periods of Indian literary history, eminent authors have tried their hands at Prākṛits; and we owe to them some interesting specimens of Prākṛit literature. Sanskrit and Prākṛit being stereotyped languages, an intensive study of grammars was quite necessary before any author could write poems etc. in these languages. Out of this close study of grammar there has arisen a specimen of literature that some authors wrote poems merely to illustrate the rules of grammar. It is a rigorous exercise, but the ancient Indian student had such a strong grip over the grammatical details that this literary feat was not at all difficult in his case. Bhaṭṭi, in his *Rāvaṇavadha*, not only narrates the life of Rāma like a genuine poet but illustrates also the aphorisms of Pāṇini, figures of speech and other rhetorical devices. Similarly *Rāvaṇārjunīyam* of Bhauma, *Lakṣaṇādarśa* of Divākara and other works illustrate Pāṇini's Sūtras<sup>2</sup>. Hemacandra wrote the *Dvyaśrayakāvya* and *Kumārapālacarita*<sup>3</sup> to illustrate respectively the rules of his Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammars. *Siricimdhakavva* (Sk. *Śricihnakāvya*), the Mss. of which are available in Madras and Trivandrum, is a Prākṛit poem in twelve cantos; and it is specially written to illustrate the rules of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* and Trivikrama's *Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa*. Though its Mss. are described in Reports<sup>4</sup>, this work has not attracted the attention of Prākṛitists; so a preliminary attempt is made in this paper to acquaint the scholars with some important aspects of this text.

1. This Paper is prepared during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay, Bombay.

2. KRISHNAMACHARIAR : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 145.

3. Bombay Sanskrit and Prākṛit Series, Nos. 60, 69 & 76.

4. *A Triennial Catalogue of Mss.*, Madras 1932, R. No. 4156; also No. 5156b of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library of Madras.

2. From the introductory and concluding verses of the commentary of Durgāprasādayati (DPY) we learn that Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka (KLŚ) is the author of *Siricimdhakavva* (SCK)<sup>5</sup>. He had another name Kodanḍamaṅgala or Bilvamaṅgala<sup>6</sup>, *kodaṇḍa* being a Sanskrit word for Dravidian *villu* or *billu*, a bow. He was a pupil of Padmapāda and is styled as *kavi-sārvabhauma*<sup>7</sup>. KLŚ composed only eight cantos, and his pupil (*tat-kaniṣṭhakulagaḥ* and *tac caranābja-bhṛṅgaḥ*) DPY added four more cantos and wrote a commentary in Sanskrit on the entire work. The poem derives its name SCK (Sk. *Śricihnakāvya*) from the fact that the word *siri* (Sk. *Śrī*) occurs in the last stanza of every canto<sup>8</sup>. It is clear from the colophons of cantos Nos. 3-7 that this poem is also called *Govindābhiṣeka*<sup>9</sup>.

The personality of KLŚ alias Bilvamaṅgala is shrouded in a good deal

5. For earlier discussion on Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka and his works I might note the following references that were accessible to me, AUFRECHT : *Catalogus Catalogorum* I p. 373 ; A Govinda WARIYAR 'Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmīyārs' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, pp. 334-42 ; KRISHNAMACHARIYAR : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 146, 257, 334 etc. ; S. K. DE : *The Kṛṣṇakarmāmya* of Līlāśuka, Dacca 1938, Intro. pp. 27-29 ; U. S. P. AIYAR : 'Saint Vilavamaṅgala' in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, Trivandrum 1940, pp. 471-491.

6. The name is written as Vilvamaṅgala too.

7. Here are the following verses from the Introduction :

श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकनाम्मेयं नत्वा मुनिं तच्चरणाब्जभृङ्गः ।  
 श्रीबिह्वकाव्यस्य पदार्थमात्रं वक्तुं यते विस्तरभीहिताय ॥ ३ ॥  
 कोदण्डमङ्गलवचोगदिते हि धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपरः किल कर्णभृत्यः ।  
 जातः क्रमेण परहंसपदे स्थितोऽस्मिन्योङ्गस्थितं तमवलोक्य जगाम तृप्तिम् ॥ ४ ॥  
 श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गः श्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।  
 श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥ ५ ॥  
 प्राकृतप्रथितमद्भुतं हि यत्तन्निबन्धनमबन्धनप्रदम् ।  
 तत्कनिष्ठकुलगोऽहमादरात्तत्र किञ्चिदभिवर्च्य भक्तिः ॥ ६ ॥  
 क्रोडमृद्विदितरामवैष्णवः काव्यदेवगुरुविप्रभक्तिमान् ।  
 अस्ति हन्त सहकारितां गतः स्वस्तये जगत उद्यतस्य मे ॥ ७ ॥

At the opening of the Ninth Canto DPY says :

श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकबद्धकाव्यं विवृणुय लोकस्य हिताय पूर्वम् ।  
 तच्छेषपूर्तिं च पुनर्विधाय विवृणुमहेऽथोत्तरभागमेनम् ॥ १ ॥

At the end he says :

मुक्तिस्थलालयशिवापदभक्तिलेशाद्गुप्ताप्रसादयतिरित्यभिधां दधानः ।  
 कर्ताऽस्य यत्सुकृतमत्र फलानभीप्सुः कृष्णोऽर्पयाम्यथ विशुद्धिकरा महन्तः ॥

8. Such conventions are observed by some of the earlier poets like Vimala, Māgha, Bhāravi, Raviṣeṇa, Haribhadra and Harṣa.

9. A. G. WARIYAR mentions the name as *Gopikābhiṣekam* also.

of traditional myth<sup>10</sup>. Many Sanskrit works are found attributed to this author ; and the traditional stories present such conflicting details that scholars are led to believe in the existence of more than one Bilvamaṅgala and to associate him with different localities in India. Scholars that distinguish three Bilvamaṅgalas put the first in the 9th century A.D., and attribute the *Kṛṣṇakarnāṃṛta* to him ; the second in the 13th century with SCK etc. to his credit ; and the third, the author of *Kṛṣṇāṣṭaka*, in the 17th century as a contemporary of Zamorin of Calicut. The native place of Bilvamaṅgala is variously put in Bengal, Āndhra, Gujarat and Keraḷa. Even those who accept only one Bilvamaṅgala have assigned different dates to him. FARQUHAR<sup>11</sup> puts him at the beginning of the fifteenth century ; while KEITH<sup>12</sup> and KRISHNAMACHARIAR assign him to the eleventh century. U. S. Parameshvara AIYAR has lately reviewed these views and arrives at the following conclusions. There was only one KLŚ alias Bilvamaṅgala ; he was a native of Keraḷa ; and he might be assigned to the thirteenth century A.D.

Confining ourselves only to SCK, we might see how the above conclusions are affected by the data given by DPY in his commentary. Whether there was only one Bilvamaṅgala or more than one should still remain *sub judice*. From the phrases *tat-kaniṣṭha-kulagaḥ* and *tac caraṇābja-bhṛiṅgaḥ* it is evident that DPY was a contemporary of KLŚ for some years at least. Further it is stated that Cāpa-, Kodaṇḍa-, or Bilva-Maṅgala alias KLŚ was no more when the last four cantos were added by DPY who wrote a commentary on all the twelve cantos. The facts that DPY associates himself with Muktiśthala<sup>13</sup> which is said to be identical either with Mukkuttalai in Malabar on the banks of the Bhāratī or with Mukkol in Cochin state about ten miles to the south of Triprangode and that KLŚ is called Kodaṇḍa- or Cāpa-maṅgala indicate that he was a native of Keraḷa<sup>14</sup>. Turning to the date of SCK, we know that DPY, who was a younger contemporary of KLŚ, has used the Sūtras of Trivikrama's Prākṛit grammar in the last four cantos of the poem. Trivikrama mentions his indebtedness to Hemacandra (1088-

10. We are told that Cintāmaṇi was the mistress of Līlāśuka in his youthful days and that it was from her that he learnt his first lesson of deep devotion to Kṛṣṇa. His attachment for her is developed not only in works like *Bhaktamālā* but it is also commemorated lately in a Tamil Cinema picture Cintāmaṇi which I had an occasion to see in Madras in 1937.

11. *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 375.

12. *A History of Sk. Literature*, p. 218-9.

13. A. G. WARIYAR describes Durgāprasādayati as 'a Kashmirian Brahman who was on a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram and who had become his [i.e., of Bilvamaṅgala] disciple.' He has not given any evidence for this statement.

14. The *Kṛṣṇakarnāṃṛta* mentions the name of the author as simply Līlāśuka and the author of *Siricindhakavvaṃ* is Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka. It is not unlikely if these two are different individuals. Bilvamaṅgala appears to have been a title, a name used by successive ascetics belonging to a Maṭha or so. I am not aware of any weighty evidence which would definitely indicate that Līlāśuka and Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka were the names of one and the same individual, that the authors of *Kṛṣṇakarnāṃṛta* and *Siricindhakavvaṃ* are identical.

1172 A.D.), and he is to be put at the beginning of the 13th century A.D.<sup>15</sup> Consequently the poem *SCK* and its author cannot be dated earlier than 12th century; and it is quite reasonable to assign them to the close of the 13th century A.D. If it could be definitely proved that the *Kṛṣṇakarmāṃṣa* and *SCK* are written by one and the same author, it is not possible to put him earlier than Trivikrama's age. At any rate we can accept 13th century as the age of *SCK*. In putting 13th century as the period of the composition of *SCK* I have in view another fact that Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka wrote the *Puruṣakāra* commentary on the *Daiva* grammar. Therein he refers to Vopadeva (c. 1250 A.D.) and his *Puruṣakāra* is mentioned by Sāyaṇa (14th century A.D.). There is a greater probability that a grammatical work like *Puruṣakāra* and a poem like *SCK* were composed by one and the same KLŚ alias Bilvamaṅgala. On account of its relation with Trivikrama's grammar, we cannot put *SCK* earlier than the 13th century. On the strength of the fact that KLŚ was a pupil of Padmapāda noted by DPY, it is not possible to push back this work to the 9th century claiming that Padmapādācārya was a direct disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. But it only means that KLŚ alias Bilvamaṅgala belonged to the order of monks of Tekkemaṭham in Trichur founded by Padmapāda and was thus a *paramparā-śiṣya* of Padmapāda, the disciple of that great Śaṅkarācārya.

3. KLŚ wrote only eight cantos of *SCK* illustrating the Sūtras of Vararuchi's Prākṛit grammar in eight chapters<sup>16</sup> (corresponding to nine chapters of COWELL's edition); but we do not know whether he completed the work in eight cantos or died leaving it incomplete. DPY has left some remarks on this point at the opening of the 9th canto :

अवतारिका—अथ निग्राह्यत्वेन प्रस्तुतकंसादिनिग्रहस्यानुक्तेः, 'दक्षिणामासआणि आणेहि मम चिद्भ भविस्सिदि पुच्छिस्स' इत्यादीं णि-इत्यादिनपुंसकबहुवचनप्रयोगलक्षणस्य त्रैविक्रम एवान्वेष्यत्वात्, पूर्वभागे वाररुचस्यैवाभिकृतत्वाच्च श्रीकृष्णकथाशेषं त्रैविक्रमोदाहरणलेशालंकृतमवतारयति ।

DPY found that some of the important events from the life of Kṛṣṇa like the slaying of Kariṣa, were not included in eight cantos; and certain grammatical usages like the termination *ni* for the Nom. pl. of *a*-ending neuter nouns, though recognised by the author, had their sanction only in Trivikrama's grammar<sup>17</sup>. For these two reasons DPY narrated in the last four cantos the remaining life of Kṛṣṇa using select illustrations from the Prākṛit grammar of Trivikrama. That he is picking up only select illustrations and incorporating them in the poem is clear from the first verse of canto 11 and its commentary :

15. On the date of Trivikrama see my note in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. I., XIII. ii. pp. 171-2; Also NITTI-DOLCI : *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, Paris 1938, pp. 180 etc.

16. It means that the recension of Vararuci's Pk. grammar used by our author contained only eight chapters (or nine chapters of COWELL's edition). See also my discussion about Rāma Pāṇivāda's commentary on *Prākṛta-prakāśa* in my Intro. to *Kaṁsavahā* (Bombay 1940), pp. 22-3.

17. See *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, v. 26 and Trivikrama's grammar, II. ii. 87.



सिण्ण-प्पमाही विबुद्धान भूए सिणिच्छरो जम्मगओ व्व णाणं ।  
बोसं गओ सो सुमणोहरं तं पीडेहिए गोउलमुद्धबालो<sup>18</sup> ॥

‘चपेटा-केसर-देवर-सैन्य-वेदनास्वेर्चास्त्वत्’ [त्रि० १-२-९३] इत्यनेन एतेषु एकारस्य नित्यमित्त्वं सिध्यति । सिण्ण । ‘सैन्धव-शानैश्वरे’ [त्रि० १-२-९४] इत्यनेन एतयोः शब्दयोः आदेरैव इत्वं भवति । सिणिच्छरो । सिंधवेति पिष्टपेषणम्<sup>19</sup> । ‘त्वत्सरोरुह-मनोहर-प्रकोष्ठातोद्यान्यो-न्येवक्ष्णोः’ [त्रि० १-२-९५]<sup>20</sup> इत्यनेनैतेष्वोतोऽत्वं<sup>21</sup> तु विकल्पेन भवति । तदा प्रकोष्ठातोद्यगत-योरौचित्योक्तेः ककारतकारयोः बत्त्वं च तत्रैकमुदाहरति, मणोहरं पक्षे मणहरं इत्यादि ।

Durgāprasādayati explains that by completing this poem he only offered service, through the mouth of Śrī KṚṢṆA (who had begun the poem), to the great God, especially God Kṛṣṇa of his Saṃpradāya to the best of his ability. Insignificant as he is, it was never his intention to parade his ability as compared with that of KṚṢṆA. He offers apologies to KṚṢṆA who is no more, and the passage runs thus :

श्रमादिश्रवणादिसाधनकलापस्य तद्भ्यजीवपरैक्यज्ञानस्य चोपदिष्टत्वात्काव्यमुखेन श्रीकृष्णाद्वैत प्रत्यग्नहोपदेशात् सर्वगुरोः, विशेषेण मम संप्रदायगुरोः, श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकमुखेन<sup>22</sup> यथाशक्ति स्वापेक्षितपरिपूरणेन परिचरमेव मया कृतम्, न तु तदपेक्षया परमाणुकल्पस्य मे सामर्थ्यप्रकटना कृता । तस्मात् प्रसीदतु इति प्रार्थयते ।

चावमंगलधरो जईसरो बिल्लमंगलधरो व होइ जो ।

मज्झ एस परिआरकालणा बम्मदं उवगओ पसीअउ ॥

The commentary of DPY, which I have studied on a few verses, is very exhaustive, and explains all the difficulties by quoting pertinent Sūtras of the Prākṛit grammar. In the absence of this commentary it would be very difficult to understand this poem. He appeals to Kośas and brings out the subtle shades of meaning of various unusual words. He has a thorough mastery over the Prākṛit grammar ; and when he found that Vararuci's eight chapters were not enough to explain all the Prākṛit usages, he used Trivikrama's grammar. In fact this poem could survive and be studied even to-day only because DPY has written an elaborate commentary on it.<sup>23</sup>

18. These quotations are given with some minor corrections here and there. They are based on the extracts sent to me by Mr. SHARMA from the Madras Mss. referred to above. Further I learn from him that the Adyar Library has included this work in its scheme of publications.

19. Trivikrama's grammar reads *saṇiccharo*. To illustrate *śiṃdhava* would be a repetition because Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka has already illustrated it in verse No. I. 33.

20. The Ms. quotes this Sūtra partially.

21. The Ms. actually reads इत्यनेनैमनोष्वातोत्वं.

22. The reading of the Ms. is श्रीकृष्णः लीलाशुकमुखेन.

23. It is reported that Rāma Pāṇivāda, the author of *Kaṃsavaho*, wrote a commentary on this work : see *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by KRISHNAMACHARIAR, p. 257.

The last two verses of the commentary (*vyākhyātur vijñaptih*<sup>24</sup>) present some difficulties of interpretation. It appears that the ancestors of DPY were associated with Agastyakagrāma and had a surname Paṭṭapalli. He was a *mokṣāśramī*, i.e., a Sarināyasin; and a certain Koṭamaṇṇa (which is Sanskritised as *Kroḍamṇ*) Rāma, a Vaiṣṇava, co-operated with him in this work.

4. The poem deals with various events in the life of Kṛṣṇa, such as, his birth, his arrival at Nandaghoṣa, destruction of Pūtana and Śakata, his boyish pranks like butter-stealing, sports at Vṛndāvana, punishment of Kālīya and the consequent praise showered on him by the gods, and lastly the arrival of the messenger and the subsequent slaying of Kaṁsa. In this manner the life of Kṛṣṇa is covered noting its broad outline and recording the important events.

If our author KLŚ is identical with Līlāśuka, then he is a worthy poet known for his vigorous expression seen in his works like *Kṛṣṇakarmāṁṛta*. But this poem, *SCK*, as a specimen of Kāvya literature, is a disappointing performance. It possesses neither the charm of expression nor the attraction of ideas. Apart from the personal abilities of the author, seen in his other works, his present composition is bound to be like this due to the handicaps which the author has voluntarily imposed on himself. He is not satisfied merely by illustrating the Sūtras of Vararuci and using his own examples in the poem; but he is bent on including in the poem almost all the words given in the commentaries like the Vṛtti of Bhāmaha. The illustrative words given by the commentators may be grouped together in view of a certain grammatical change, but they do not form a related family so far as their meanings and the ideas conveyed by them are concerned. The author, therefore, has no control over the contents and the narration of events, because he has to use all those words; and there is nothing like a succession of ideas, because these words have no kinship of import. More than once obscure meanings of words are adopted, and the ideas and expressions are far from being happy.

This poem can be compared with the *Kumārāpālacarita* of Hemacandra. Both the works are composed with the specific purpose of illustrating the rules of Prākṛit grammar. Hemacandra is using his own Sūtras, while KLŚ is using the Sūtras of Vararuci and the illustrative words thereon found in

24. The verses run thus :

पल्यङ्कितः पूर्वपकारशोभिद्विरूपतोपेतटवर्ण एषः ।  
 प्रबक्ति एषां खलु नामधेयमगस्त्यकग्रामभुवं गतानाम् ॥  
 गृहेषु यो दक्षिणभागसंज्ञे तेषूपजातात्मकलेवरेषु ।  
 मोक्षाश्रमी तेन परं निबद्धा व्याख्या मुदा शोधकसद्वलेन ॥  
 कोकारटमकारश्च णत्वद्वित्वोपशोभितः ।  
 क्रमाद् भ्रुवति यं रामं सहकारी स वैष्णवः ॥

Should we read संज्ञितेषु<sup>o</sup>? These verses do present some difficulties. Is it that Tekkemaṭha is implied by the words गृहेषु दक्षिणभागसंज्ञितेषु ?

the commentaries. The *Kumārapālacarita* does not possess the merits of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* which, despite the technical purpose it serves, does contain poetic merits. Between *Kumārapālacarita* and *SCK*, the former is really a superior composition ; and the reasons for it are quite plain. Hemacandra has more liberty of composition. He only illustrates the Sūtras by a word or two required in that context and is not bound to use all the words given by him in his commentary. His subject matter also is not limited like that of *SCK*, because the life of Kumārapāla is not stereotyped by the traditional and conventional background like that of Kṛṣṇa. The hands of KLŚ are so much tied down by the list of illustrative words that his expressions and contents automatically get crippled and often become obscure.

The two Sūtras, *ā smṛddhyādiṣu vā* of Vararuci (i. 2) and *ataḥ smṛddhyādaḥ vā* of Hemacandra (VIII. i. 44) are practically identical in their meaning and scope of application. In explaining this Sūtra Bhāmaha gives ten words calling the same an *ākṛtigāṇa* ; while Hemacandra gives a slightly different *ākṛtigāṇa* (of thirteen words) in which he does not include *aśva* but to which he adds four more words *manasvin*, *pratisiddhi*, *praroḥa* and *pravāsin*. Hemacandra has a few more additional illustrations as well. To illustrate this Sūtra Hemacandra composes only one line in his *Kumārapālacarita* :

गुण-सामिद्धी पयडा कला-समिद्धी वि पायडा जस्स । १-३३

KLŚ, however, devotes five verses to illustrate the same Sūtra, and he uses all the words (excepting *aśva*) given by the Vṛtti on that Sūtra. This exactly brings out the difference in the manner in which Hemacandra and KLŚ have handled the grammatical material which they wanted to illustrate by writing these poems. Not being restricted by the choice of illustrations given by the commentary, Hemacandra could compose his verses with liberty and ease ; while KLŚ either goes on composing verses after verses to include all the words given by the commentary or he heaps them in a single verse making the contents altogether obscure (see verse 22). KLŚ is said to have been acquainted with the works of Hemacandra, but we have no evidence to say that he had access to the *Kumārapālacarita*.

5. With a view to get some idea of the text I am presenting here the first canto of *SCK* which is based on the transcript of the Trivandrum Ms. so kindly sent to me by Prof. B. WARRIER<sup>25</sup>. In the light of the Sūtras of Vararuci and the illustrations thereon I have carefully and cautiously presented the text ; and wherever I found the actual readings not quite satisfactory I have given them in the foot-notes. The readings of the Ms. disclose certain scribal tendencies and slips. The Ms. uniformly uses *l* for *l*. More than once *p* & *v*, aspirated & unaspirated consonants and a long vowel & a vowel followed by an *anusvāra* are not distinguished. An *anusvāra* and the doubling of the following consonant are repeatedly interchanged. These peculiarities are nearly the same as those discussed by me in the Introduction to *Kaṁsa-*

25. I learn that there is one Ms. in the Trivandrum Palace Library and another with Chāya and Commentary with Prof. WARRIER himself.

*vaho* ; and many of them appear to be peculiar to Prākṛit Mss. hailing from the Keraḷa territory. The grammatical illustrations are underlined in the following verses.

[ पढमो सगो ]

सामिद्धि सभल-जअण सस्स काउं  
तेल्लोक-प्पहव-पह्व ससंक-वंसे ।  
संजाओ विउल-सामिद्धि-पुण्ण-पुण्णे  
रुढं तं पउर-कलंकमुद्धरंतो ॥ १ ॥

सारिच्छो जल-णिहिणा ण जो सारिच्छो  
पासुत्तो सह जलहिम्मि अ-प्पसुत्तो ।  
पासिद्धी पहवइ जस्स णो पासिद्धी  
जो लोप पअडअमो अपाअडो अ ॥ २ ॥

होहीअ तस्स जणणी भुवणीसरस्स  
माणंसिणीसु<sup>१</sup> अहिअं सुमणंसिणी<sup>२</sup> जा ।  
जं आहिआइ-रुहरं अहिआइवंतो  
काहीअ जीअ-द्धअं वसुदेव-राओ ॥ ३ ॥

धरिअ-सस्सुह-सुंदर-विमाहो  
अहिअमासि विह्व महु-रज्जुइ<sup>३</sup> ।  
तम-हरो जणणीइ समुग्गओ  
पडिवआइ<sup>४</sup> व पाडिअ<sup>५</sup>-सस्सी ॥ ४ ॥

ओआरे धरणीअ देव-विहुणो कंस-प्पडिप्फद्धिणो  
मोत्तं णाअ-तरुण पुप्फ<sup>६</sup>-वरिसं वत्त-प्पडिप्फद्धिणा ।  
पाडिप्फद्धि-जणस्स वाम-णअणं पप्फंदिअं तक्खणा  
मित्ताणं विअ दक्खिणं रअ-रुआ-संखोहिअं तस्स वा ॥ ५ ॥

ईसि-पिक्ख<sup>७</sup>-फल-पाअवे<sup>८</sup> महा-  
वेडिसे विअण-पल्लवे वणे ।  
सो जणो असुइणो अ-पावइ-  
गालअम्मि लसिओ मिअंगिओ ॥ ६ ॥

The actual readings of the MS. are given here in the footnotes

1. माणस्सिणीसु.
2. सुमणंसिणी.
3. विहुम्महु-रज्जुइ.
4. पडिअआइ.
5. पडिअआ.
6. पुब्भवरिसं.
7. पिक्ख.
8. पाअवे.

ईस-पक्क-फलए ईस<sup>९</sup>-त्थली-  
वेडसे वअण-पल्लवे ठिओ ।  
सो सणो असिचिणो अ-पावअं-  
गालए महिचणे मुअंगओ ॥ ७ ॥

रण्णे सुसेज्ज अह तत्थ गीअं  
अच्छे<sup>१०</sup> सुंदरअ-वेह्लि<sup>११</sup> रुक्खे ।  
सेक्का पिप तेरह-विट्ठवा<sup>१२</sup> प-  
त्तोक्केर-पेरंत-मणोज्ज-बोरे ॥ ८ ॥

मोर-पिच्छ-कअ-मोह-सोहणा  
अच्छरा झडिइ णच्चिआ रसा ।  
माहवस्स जणणे मऊरिआ  
वारिअस्स त्रह उम्मऊहिणी<sup>१३</sup> ॥ ९ ॥

चोत्थि व<sup>१४</sup> विग्घो गिरिसो व्व चोइहिं  
जोई चउत्थि व<sup>१५</sup> पुमत्थ-पद्धइं ।  
वेहो व्व लोआण तणुं चउइहिं<sup>१७</sup>  
काहीअ रम्मं जअइं महो इमो ॥ १० ॥

ओविट्ठं जह अहिचेण देवईए  
णाआणं तह पइणा अ रोहिणीए ।  
ओइण्णं धरणिअले जहा तिणा रे  
साणंदं पढमअरं तहा अ तेण ॥ ११ ॥

दावग्गि<sup>१८</sup> दुरिअ-तरुण तं दवग्गि-  
प्पत्थावं अह अह-पत्थवे कंसे सं<sup>१९</sup> ।  
सूणुं खाइअ-तमसं णिअ-प्पहाहिं<sup>२०</sup>  
माआ सा सवइ णिईअ खाइआहा ॥ १२ ॥

चउग्गुअं उक्खअ-सत्तु-अकं  
उक्खाअ-वेण<sup>२१</sup> प्पहर-प्पहारा ।  
पुण्णेण सा संठविअं<sup>२२</sup> णिअग्गे  
संठाविअक्खं णिअउं<sup>२३</sup> ण सत्ता ॥ १३ ॥

9. ईसत्थली. 10. अच्चेर. 11. पल्लि. 12. विट्ठवा. 13. वारिअस्स [सुत्त] मउहिणी.  
14. चोत्थीव. 15. चोइही. 16. चउत्थीव. 17. चउइही. 18. दावाग्गी. 19. प्पत्थापं  
अह अहप्पथापे कंसे सम्. 20. णिअप्पहाही. 21. दण्ण. 22. सट्ठविअं. 23. णिअऊ.

पेक्कूण तं आणहुंदुही वि रे<sup>24</sup>  
 ससंभमं चामर-तालवुंदुअं ।  
 वेक्कूण लच्छी-चमरेण<sup>25</sup> वीजिअं  
 सवीजिओ भू-तलवुंदुएण अ ॥ १४ ॥

सो संसिउं चाडु-पिअं चड्ढहिं<sup>26</sup>  
 अप्पाअअं अप्पअओ पउत्तो ।  
 ओह्हालिओ ओहलिआदु हीणो  
 संसेइ णाहं किमु सो त्ति वच्चं ॥ १५ ॥

सइ णिगम-वपहिं<sup>27</sup> णाअतत्तो  
 मुणि-णिअअस्स सअा ठिओ मणेसु<sup>28</sup> ।  
 सुअ-जणअ-गिराण पेडिअत्थो  
 अहह हु मे णअणं गओ, सि मोक्खो ॥ १६ ॥

सैदुर-पेट्टारुण-पाणि-पाअं  
 धम्मेल्ल-रम्मं तुह णाह वेण्णु<sup>29</sup> ।  
 पहे हलिदीअ णिविट्ठ-वत्थं  
 जोगं ण रूवं पुहवीअ होउं ॥ १७ ॥

इअ उच्छु-गलं<sup>30</sup> व पीडणे  
 बहलत्थं<sup>31</sup> वसुदेव-वम्मअं ।  
 सुइ विच्छुअसोम-सीअलं  
 सुणिओ बाल-ववुं ठिओ विट्ठे<sup>32</sup> ॥ १८ ॥

दोहाइओ सो हिअए सुआणं  
 दुहाइआणं जम-सीह-जीहं ।  
 गआण कंसेण विइतणादो  
 एक्को सुए आसि अ तम्मि दिट्ठे ॥ १९ ॥

सरिउमह पवुत्तो पाणिअत्तं तमंते<sup>33</sup>  
 गहिर-करिअ-पंकं णंद-गोवस्स<sup>34</sup> घोसं ।  
 अलिअ-वि लिअ-गोवि-ज्जोइअंतं तदाणि  
 दुदिअ-तइअ-मास-प्पोढ-वच्चं स वच्छो ॥ २० ॥

24. पिये. 25. चामरेण. 26. चाड्ढहिं. 27. णिगमवअएहि. 28. गणेसु. 29. वेण्णु.  
 30. उच्छुल्लं, 31. बहलत्थं, 32. बालववुं ठिआ विट्ठे. 33. तवत्ते, 34. गोपस्स,

सुंदेर-गेहुं<sup>35</sup> जणपण तं सुअं  
 आमेलमंवा भुवणाण गेण्हिअं<sup>36</sup> ।  
 पेच्छण ठाईअं<sup>37</sup> अ कंस-भाइआ  
 सो केरिसो परिस वत्तणो विही ॥ २१ ॥

णारि<sup>38</sup> तोंड-पडिवक्ख<sup>39</sup> पोक्खरं  
 दोस-मोत्त-मणि कोट्टिमासिअं ।  
 मत्त-लोखअ-घणं महाजलं  
 अक्कअं अअ-पिआ दुअं गओ ॥ २२ ॥

महोक्खलाई<sup>40</sup> अ उलूहलाणं  
 पुत्ते अ अण्णे अ घोवआरे ।  
 घरे अ ताप गुरु-सोत्तणीप  
 पेक्खूण हूरं दरिओ ठिओ<sup>41</sup> सो ॥ २३ ॥

मउड-गरुअ-सोअमल्ल-सेसो  
 अवरिम उम्मउलेक्खणो<sup>42</sup> लसीअ ।  
 गुरुअमगुण्णा तणुं वहंतो  
 दइअ-जहिद्विल-देवअस्स छत्तो ॥ २४ ॥

पेक्खूण आइ-पुरिसं<sup>43</sup> महुआइ-पुण्णे  
 रण्णे णिप जिअ-दुअल्ल<sup>44</sup> दिसा-दुऊलं ।  
 पाप अ णेउर-वओ धिअ<sup>45</sup> बाल-वेसं  
 सा तारिसी रवि-सुआ विअला भुवीअ<sup>46</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

उत्तिण्णो सो इसीणं सम-किदि-हिअअं<sup>47</sup> सारि-धिट्ठी किस्साहो  
 मंती किअं व संतं णइमह अ गओ घोसमुब्भिग-वण्णं<sup>48</sup> ।  
 गिट्ठीणं दिट्ठी-रम्मं किरर-तिणमणुव्विच्छिअं णिस्सिआलं<sup>49</sup>  
 भिगारत्थिण्ण<sup>50</sup> छीरं रमण-मुह-मिअंकावितिण्हइ-जोसं<sup>51</sup> ॥ २६ ॥

पइदिं व धिओहाण आइदि-जत्त<sup>52</sup> भिअअं ।  
 भुवि गो-सिद्धि-ओअं व ओइण्णं सेविउं हरिं ॥ २७ ॥

35. सुंदेरणहुं. 36. गेण्ही. 37. ठाईअ. 38. नारी. 39. प्रतिपक्ख.  
 40. महोक्खलाईअ. 41. टिओ. 42. अवरिमुआन मउडेक्खणो. 43. पुरिसं. 44. दुअल्ल.  
 45. रिअ. 46. भुवीअम्. 47. हिअओ. 48. घोसमुब्भिगवण्णं. 49. तिणमणुव्विच्छिअं  
 णिस्सिअल्लं. 50. भीगारत्थिण्ण. 51. मिअवितिण्हइजोसं. 52. आइदिअंत,

सोद्वमाणमुदुणा मुणालिणी-  
 वेरिणा<sup>53</sup> परदुदाण<sup>54</sup> सचुणा ।  
 भाउपण मअणस्स पावुस<sup>55</sup>  
 क्खाइणा पुहविआहिमोइणा ॥ २८ ॥

बुंदावणाहेदि वणेहि महअं  
 णिवुत्त-सोकखं विवुदोअ-सइलं  
 पवुत्ति-वुत्तंत-मणोज्ज-माउआ-  
 सुअं स-जामाउअ-सस्सु-सम्मअं ॥ २९ ॥

स-साल-रुक्खं सुह-चूअ-वच्छअं  
 किलित्त-सज्जं विअणाइ दूरअं ।  
 सवेअणे संविरहे वि देअरे  
 सलज्ज-रामं दिअरअज्जअं<sup>56</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

सेणं दइआण व ही महज्जुइ<sup>57</sup>  
 बुदं व संफुल-चइअ<sup>58</sup>-भूमिअं ।  
 मणोज्ज<sup>59</sup>-सीअं वइदेहअं विअ  
 चूअं व फुल्लं<sup>60</sup> वइसाह-सुंदरं ॥ ३१ ॥

गअ-देसणं भइरवं व संकरं  
 सइरे सुहं च रइ-कामुअं विअ ।  
 रअ-हारिअं वइसिअं व वेसिअं  
 वसणोइअं कइअवं व अक्खअं ॥ ३२ ॥

वइदेस-जणाण अस्सअं वइसंपाअण-वण्णण-क्खमं ।  
 वइवस्स अ देव-गो-गणं वहमाणं समसिधवे<sup>61</sup> वसे ॥ ३३ ॥

मुणि-धीर-हारि-मणि-कंकणचिअं  
 फुरिअ-प्पवट्ट<sup>62</sup>-रमणिज्ज-गोविअं ।  
 सण-कच्छु<sup>63</sup>-रज्जु-किण-मिस्स-भूत्तणं  
 छुरिअ-प्पओट्ट<sup>64</sup>-णर-जोव्वणोइअं ॥ ३४ ॥

53. वैरिणा. 54. हरउदाण. 55. पाउसं. 56. अंजअम्. 57. महज्जइ (महुज्जलं?)  
 58. चयिअ. 59. मणज्ज. 60. पुट्टं. 61. समसीधवे. 62. पुरिअं परवट्ट. 63. खच्छु.  
 64. प्परवट्ट.



पउर-विविह-बाल-केलि-रम्मं  
कउरव-राअ-पुरं व सुअ-अण्णं  
पउरिस-बहलं<sup>65</sup> व सत्थ-गोवं<sup>66</sup>  
पउरव-वंस-तरुं व पंडु-पुप्फं ॥ ३५ ॥

सुंदेर-सुंड-णयणं व समत्थ<sup>67</sup>-कामं  
मुंजाअणाइ-रुइरं मुणि-मंडलं व ।  
कुक्खेअअं व अहिआण सिरी-णअंतं  
रण्णो दुवारिअ-जणं व पअं भअंतं ॥ ३६ ॥

[ इअ सिरी-विंध-कव्वे पढमो सर्गो<sup>68</sup> ]

6. A careful study of this text in comparison with the Sūtras of *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci, (who is also called Kātyāyana by DPY here) and its commentaries discloses many interesting points. The following observations bring out the correspondence between the verses of the first canto of *SCK* and the Sūtras<sup>26</sup> of the first Pariccheda of *Prākṛta-prakāśa*.

Verses 1-5 & Sūtra 2 : The *ākṛtigāṇa* in question, which our author has in view, consists of these words : *saṃyaddhi*, *sadykṣa*, *prasupta*, *prasiddhi*, *prakaṣa*, *manasvinā*, *abhijāti*, *pratipat* and *pratisparddhin*. Turning to the commentaries<sup>27</sup>, the Vṛtti Bhāmaha (B) has one word more, namely, *aśva*. *Samjivani* of Vasantarāja (V) and *Subodhini* of Sadānanda (S) have *pratiśiddhi* instead of *pratisparddhin*. *Prākṛta-mañjarī* (PM) has *prakṛti* for *pratipad*. COWELL's ed. of the Vṛtti puts *pratisparddhin* in the Sanskrit list but gives *paḍi-* and *pāḍi-siddhi* as Prākṛit equivalents : one suspects that the Sk. list might have contained *pratiśiddhi*. In that case PM is the only commentary on this Sūtra which gives *pratisparddhin* illustrated by our author.

Verses 6-7 & Sūtra 3 : B specifies that this Sūtra is not optional (*veti nivṛttam*), and V and S appear to agree with B. PM, however, takes it optional ; and our author also does the same. For *iṣad* B has *isi* (but Ms. W *isi*), V *isi*, S *isi* and PM *isi*, *isa* and also *isi*. Looking at the actual readings of the Ms. our author agrees with PM. For *svapna* B has *sivina*, so also V and S, but our text gives *suina* and *sivina*. PM does not give the

65. बउलं व. 66. गोपं. 67. सवत्थ. 68. इति श्रीचिह्नकाव्ये प्रथमः सर्गः ।

26. These numbers of Sūtras differ from edition to edition ; here they are according to COWELL's edition of *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, 2nd Issue, London 1868.

27. I have used the following editions. *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci, ed. by COWELL, London 1868 ; *Prākṛta-prakāśa* with *Samjivani* of Vasantarāja and *Subodhini* of Sadānanda, Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 19, Benares 1927 ; *Prākṛta-mañjarī*, published by the Nirmayasagara Press, 2nd ed., Bombay 1913.

Prākṛit equivalents. For mṛdaṅga B has *mūṁga* (v. 1. *mūṁga*), V and S *mūṁga*. PM is silent. Our text has *miāṅga* and *muāṅga*.<sup>28</sup>

Verse 8 & Sūtras 4-6 : With *aṛaṇya* V and S illustrate *idānim* as well. B and PM are silent. Our text also does not use that word in this context. The *gaṇa* for Sūtra 5, accepted by our author, agrees with that of B and PM. V and S include in this Gaṇa *kiyat*, *yāvat*, *tāvat*, *mātra* and *vṛnta* but omit *trayodaśa*. B and PM illustrate simply *badara* in Sūtra 6 and *lavaṇa* and *navamallikā* in Sūtra 7. V and S omit the Sātra 7 but illustrate *lavaṇa* with *badara* in Sūtra 6. Sūtra 7 is not illustrated by our poem.

Verses 9-10 illustrate Sūtras 8-9. Verses 11-15 & Sūtra 10. Our author illustrates the following words : *yathā*, *tathā*, *dāvāgni*, *prastāva*, *khādita*, *utkhāta*, *prahāra*, *saṁsthāpita*, *cāmera*, *tālavṛnta*, *cātu*, *prākṛta* and *hālaka*. This list agrees with that of B with the difference that there is *prastāra* for *prastāva*. Turning to V and S they do not include here *dāvāgni*, *khādita*, *saṁsthāpita*, *tālavṛnta* and *cātu* ; but add *pravāha* and *pārijāta*. It is interesting to note that V reads *prastāra* while S reads *prastāva*. Both of them add another list of regular changes not illustrated here by our author. PM does not include *prastāva*, *khādita* and *prākṛta* in its Gaṇa. Thus our author's list is nearer that of Bhāmaha. In the Prākṛit forms some points are of interest. For *tālavṛnta* our text shows here *tāla-* and *tāla-vṛnta*, but B has *tala-* and *tāla-veṁṭaā*. For *Prākṛta* B and S give *paūa* and *pāūa*, while our text reads *paāā* and *pāāā* in agreement with the readings of V. In our verses *khāia* occurs twice ; once it should have been *khāia* : perhaps the change is due to metre.<sup>29</sup>

Verses 16-17 & Sūtras 11-13 : On Sūtra 11 B gives *yadā* and *tadā*, but they are not illustrated by our author here. V and S (and probably PM as well) do not give them. On Sūtra 12, B gives *nīdrā* and *cihna* (not in W Ms.), but they are not found in our verse. V and S add *bilva* and *viṣṭi* but omit *piṣṭa*. Our author's list perfectly agrees with that of PM. B reads *haladdā*, V *haladdā* and *haladdi*, S *haladdā*, PM also *haladdā*, but our text *haliddi*.

Verse 18 & Sūtras 14-15 : Our text reads *vicchuā* (also *vacchiā*, see the actual reading in the foot-note on 26c), but B, V and S read *vimchuā*. Due to the orthographical peculiarity of our Ms. we can read it with nasal ; but the genuine reading can be decided by seeing the author's illustration on Sūtra iii. 41. PM reads *vijjuā* here as well as at iii. 40.

Verse 19 & Sūtras 16-17 : On Sūtra 16 V and S add *ojjhara* from *nirjhara* ; this as well as words like *visattha* and *visambha*, under Sūtra 17, are not included by our author. The Sūtra *ūd utā upasarge visarjanīyena* given by V and S and the Sūtra *ive lopah* given by PM do not appear to have been illustrated by our author. V and S have another Sūtra *id itah*, but that also is not included.

28. As the rule requires these forms should have been *mūṁga* and *mūṁga*.

29. It may be noted that the second line of the verse No. 12 is metrically defective : we will have to read *Kāse sam*.

Verse 20 & Sūtra 18 : Our author's list agrees with that of B so far as the words are concerned. V and S have *vṛḍita* for *vyaḷika* and *idānim* for *tadānim* ; they omit *karīṣa* but add *ānīta*, *ghṛīta* and *nirīkṣita*. PM agrees with B with the difference that it has *vṛḍita* for *vyaḷika*. Mss. BDW of COWELL read *vṛḍita*. Our author's list agrees with that of B and PM, though there are the following variations in the Prākṛit forms. B has *valiā* but *viliā* in our poem possibly with the reading *vṛḍita* in view. Our text reads *duḍiā* and *tadānim* for *duā* and *taānim* of B. V and S also read *duā*.

Verse 21 & Sūtra 19 : In view of the reading *āmeḍo* and the Sūtra ii.16 COWELL should have read *āmeḷo*, but he reads *āpeḷo*. Our text has *āmeḷo*. V and S have *āmeḷo*, but PM reads *āpeḷo*.

Verse 22 & Sūtra 20 : Our author illustrates *tuṇḍa*, *puṣkara*, *mukta*, *kuṭṭima* and *lubbhaka*. B has *muktā* for *mukta* and one more word *pustaka*. V and S have *musta* for *mukta*, omit *kuṭṭima* and have three more words *mudgara*, *pustaka* and *sukumāra*. PM has the same number of words as that of our author, but it reads *muṇḍa* for *mukta*.

Verse 23 and Sūtra 21 : In giving *okkhala* our author agrees with B ; but V, S, and PM give *ohala*.

Verse 24 and Sūtra 22 : With the difference that our text reads *garuī* for *garuī*, our author is in agreement with the list given by B. V and S do not give *garuī* and *Yudhiṣṭhira*, and they admit *bāhū* also optionally. PM practically agrees with B except for the word *sukumāra* standing for *saukumārya*.<sup>30</sup>

Verse 25 and Sūtras 23-26 : The various words given under *ud ūto madhūkādīṣu*<sup>31</sup> by V and S are not illustrated by our author. After Sūtra 26 V and S have Sūtra No. 40, but our author takes it later but not here. Sūtra No. 27, as far as I see, is not illustrated here.

Verses 26-27 and Sūtra 28 : In illustrating the changes of *ṛ* to *i*, our author, as I understand the text, gives some twenty-one words. Looking at the list literally B has fourteen common words : *ghṛṣṭi*, *kṛṣā*, *tṛṇa*, *prakṛti*, *ākṛti*, *ghṛta* and *bhṛtya* are not found in B ; but there are some additional words too : *vṛṣi*, *śṛṅgāra*, *bṛmḥita*, *kṛṣi* and *kṛpā*. V and S agree in giving two lists, one of optional change and the other of regular change. We may ignore this distinction, because the list is taken as a whole by our author. V and S have eight words common with our author (taking *mṛga* and *mṛgāṅka* almost identical) : they do not include *kṛti*, *ghṛṣṭi*, *kṛṣā*, *kṛtya*, *kṛṣara*, *tṛṇa*, *vṛścika*, *vitṛṣna*, *prakṛti*, *ākṛti*, *bhṛtya*, *sṛṣṭi*, but add *masṛṇa*, *dṛṣṭa*, *vṛṣabha*, *pṛthula*, *dṛḍha*, *kṛta*, *gṛdhra*, *śṛṅgāra*, *kṛpāna*, *kṛpāna*, *kṛpā* and *vṛṣṭi*. PM has fifteen words common : it does not include *kṛtya*, *gṛṣṭi*, *tṛṇa*, *bhṛṅgāra*, *vitṛṣna*, *ghṛta*, but gives some additional words *kṛpā*, *śṛṅgāra*, *mṛdaṅga* and *vimṛṣṭa*. Thus we see that our author's list is nearer that of PM and B than that of V and S.

Verse 28 & Sūtra 29 : Our poem illustrates here thirteen words which change their *ṛ* to *u*. So far as Sanskrit words are concerned, the list is prac-

30. The second line of verse No. 24 is not well preserved.

31. Bhāmaha reads this Sūtra *udūto madhūke*.

tically identical with that of B : only *bhrātṛka* and *nivṛtta* are not there and *śhṛvta* and *nirvṛtta* are additional. V and S do not illustrate *vr̥ndāvana*, *nivṛtta*, *vivṛta*, *māṭṛka* but add *mṛta*. PM (including the opinion of others) gives eleven common words : *parabhṛta* and *nivṛtta* are not included, but *vr̥nta*, *vṛta*, *tālavṛnta*, *vṛtti* and *parivṛta* are added. In the Prākṛit forms there are some differences. B has *parahuā*, *viūda* (v. 1 *vivuda*) and *paūtti*, but our text reads *parahuda*, *vivuda* and *pavutti*. Such variations are seen between the forms of SCK and those given by V and S. Sūtras 31-32 are not illustrated here by our author. V and S have these Sūtras. It is interesting to note that PM has not got these Sūtras.

Verse No. 30 illustrates Sūtras 32-34. Verses 31-32 & Sūtras 35-38 : The illustration *seṇman* given by our author is noted by the Ms. W of B and it is found in V also. Other illustrations like *śaila*, *kailāsa* etc. of the commentary are not noted by our author. Under Sūtra No. 36 our author's list practically agrees with that of B, the only additional word in B being *vaira*. V and S do not give *caitya*, *vaiśika* and *vaideśa*, but add *kairava*. They also give *caitra* and *vaidya* observing the rule optionally. PM has *kaiṭabha* for *kaitava*, otherwise there is agreement. Thus our author's list is nearer the one found in B and PM. It may be noted that our text reads *caicca*, while the grammars read *caitta*. Our author and PM have *caitya* in view while others give *caitra*.

Verse 34 & Sūtras 39-41 : On Sūtra 41 our author gives only *jovvāna* ignoring other illustrations found in B : here he agrees with S. Some more illustrations given by the grammarians do not find any place here.

Verse 35 & Sūtra 42 : On this Sūtra the *gaṇa* according to B consists of *paura*, *kaurava* and *pauruṣa*. V and S give a still bigger list. PM gives *paura*, *paurava*, *pauruṣa*, *kaurava* and *raudra*. Thus we see that our author's list is nearer that of B and PM. Sūtra No. 43 is not illustrated by our author.

Verse 36 & Sūtra 44 : The five words given by our text agree with those of B, the only difference is that we have *duvāria* but COWELL reads *duvvāriā*. COWELL'S Mss. CW read *duvāria*. The list of V and S is bigger, but PM and B have identical lists.

The text of the first canto of SCK is based on a single Ms. and is after all tentative ; and more than once the verses present difficulties of interpretation. In the above remarks I have noted only the facts without going into the merits or otherwise of the readings. Further I have not tried to settle which is the correct reading. From the above remarks it is clear that our author is following some commentary or commentaries on the Sūtras of Vararuci. The first question is which is the commentary that our author has in view. At present there are four commentaries available to us : (i) *Vṛtti* of Bhāmaha ; (ii) *Samjvanī* of Vasastarāja ; (iii) *Subodhinī* of Sadānanda ; and (iv) *Prākṛta-mañjarī* of an unknown author. All these four are used by me in the above comparative study. Other commentaries like that of Rāma Pāṇivāda are not published as yet. Our author has not told us what parti-

cular commentary he is using. Naturally we are left to surmise from his illustrations studying them in the light of the above commentaries. The detailed comparison, set forth above, does not induce us to believe that he is following any one of the above commentaries exclusively. This much can be safely stated that the commentary used by our author is more allied to the *Vṛtti* of Bhāmaha and *Prākṛtamañjarī*; and of these two his connection with PM is closer. Some forms remarkably agree with those of the Ms. W (of Bhāmaha's *Vṛtti*) used by COWELL for his edition.

7. The number of Vararuci's Sūtras, the order of their sequence and arrangement, their interpretation and scope, the accuracy of the forms given by commentaries which show different readings, and the original number of chapters in the whole work : these are some of the many problems connected with *Prākṛta-prakāśa* that require clarification. To settle these points, the illustrations given by our poem have the value of an independent commentary composed by one who had an intelligent and comprehensive understanding of the Sūtras. As these illustrations are incorporated in verses, there is not much scope for their being changed or dropped. Some of the forms have a confirmatory value when studied in comparison with other commentaries ; and moreover they would indicate the way in which a poet understood some of the Sūtras.

A critical and authentic presentation of the entire text of this poem, constituted by a judicious understanding of the readings of Mss. without any special partiality for the text of some commentary or the other, would definitely shed abundant light on the readings of the illustrations in various commentaries and on the recension of Vararuci's grammar current in the South.<sup>32</sup>

32. I offer my sincere thanks to Prof. M. R. Balkrishna WARRIER, Trivandrum, who kindly sent to me a transcript of the first canto ; to Mr. K. M. SHARMA and Mr. K. R. SHARMA, Adyar, who were kind enough to send me exhaustive extracts from the commentary of Durgāprasādayati ; and to Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR and Mr. P. K. GODE, Poona, who kindly procured for me some important books. But for their help I would not have been able to present my studies in this form.

# ANCIENT INDIA AND THE OUTER WORLD \*

By

Shri S. D. GYANI, M.A.

## (4) *Islam and Judaism.*

ISLAM, the religion founded by Muhammad in the 7th century A.D. does not differ much from Judaism and Zoroastrianism. Its monotheism is not very different from that of Judaism. The holy *Koran*<sup>16</sup> itself acknowledges its debt to Judaism, as is suggested by Dr. SALE in his translation of the *Koran*<sup>17</sup>.

The Zoroastrian influence on Islam can be traced in the religious formula *La Ilah Illilah* ("God alone deserves worship and adoration") which is almost the translation of *nestezad magar yazadan*, of the ancient Persians. The words *Bismillah Rahimanirahim* ("In the name of God, Who is kind and merciful") with which every chapter of the *Koran* (the ninth excepted) opens, reminds one of *Banam Yazadan Bakshisha gar dadar* ("in the name of the merciful God"), with which every Zoroastrian begins his book. The Muslim prayer is also based on the *Avesta*<sup>18</sup>.

As regards the ancient Greeks and the Romans, in view of their linguistic and cultural affinities with the Indo-Aryans, it is admitted on all hands, that they were a branch of the ancient Aryans<sup>19</sup>. The primitive Greeks nourished themselves with milk and with the flesh of their herds. They moved about under arms, always ready to fight and grouped themselves in tribes governed by patriarchs. They adored different aspects of nature in the form of gods, called Zeus<sup>20</sup>, Hera, Athena, Appolo, Artemis, Hermes, Hapastus, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Dionisus, etc. The images of these gods were worshipped in the temples. They had different powers and different duties to discharge. They hated and disliked one another. Their favourite abode was the snow-clad mount Olympus, to which no mortal had access.

The religion of the Romans was not very much different from that of the Greeks. All the Greek gods were represented under different names in the Roman pantheon, which was very much like the Vedic. Idol worship was also adopted. Like the Greeks and the Hindus, the Romans believed in

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\* Continued from *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 103.

16. *Surayē Bakar, Manzil I, Pārā 1, 2.*

17. Section IV, p. 81.

18. *Yasna*, I, 59-61.

19. MAX MÜLLER : *Lectures*, 1st Series, pp. 211, 212 ; also SEIGNOBOS : *History of Ancient Civilization*, p. 100.

20. Zeus and Jupiter are mere transformations of the R̥gvedic *Dyau* and *Dyau-spitar*.—See GRISWOLD : *The Religion of the R̥gveda*, p. 14.

the existence of soul as a separate entity and burnt their dead. *Śrāddha* ceremony was also in vogue as SEIGNOBOS suggests<sup>21</sup>.

The Romans were worshippers of fire which was always kept burning in the hearths of their houses and in public places in which incense and other things were put. Before beginning his meal the Roman thanked the god of the hearth, gave him a part of the food, and poured out for him a little wine (this was the libation). Even the sceptical Horace supped with his slaves before the hearth and offered libation and prayer. For the Romans as for the Greeks, the marriage was a religious duty ; religion ordains that family should not become extinct. The Roman, therefore, declares when he marries that he takes his wife to perpetuate the family through his children.<sup>22</sup>

The influence of Indian philosophy is traceable on the Greek and Roman thought. In this case as also in others, India could spread her wisdom in the European world, without the aid of any medium. Striking points of similarity can be traced between the early Greek philosophy and the Indian philosophy. Oneness of God and the Universe, unreality of multiple existence, identity of thinking and being—the important doctrines of the Eleatics, may well be traced to the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* and the Vedānta system. The Sāṃkhya doctrine of the eternity and indestructibility of matter is to be found in the philosophy of Empedocles. The dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science is highly probable. "Almost all the doctrines ascribed to him, are traceable in India in the 6th century B.C. The transmigration theory, the assumption of the five elements, the Pythagorean theorem in Geometry, the religio-philosophical character of the Pythagorean fraternity, and the mystical speculations of the Pythagorean school, all have their close parallels in ancient India. According to the Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and others undertook journeys to Oriental countries in order to study philosophy<sup>23</sup>". Even Sir WILLIAM JONES was much impressed by these points of similarity when he wrote<sup>24</sup>— "Of the philosophical schools, it will be sufficient here to remark that the first Nyāya seems analogous to Peripatetic, the second sometimes called Vaiśeṣika to the Ionic, the two Mīmāṃsās of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Vedāntā to the Platonic, the first Sāṃkhya to the Italic, and the second of Patañjali to the stoic philosophy ; so that Gotama corresponds with Aristotle, Kaṇāda with Thales, Jaimini with Socrates, Vyāsa with Plato, Kapila with Pythagoras and Patañjali with Zeno.

Influence of the Sāṃkhya system on the Neo-Platonist philosophy can easily be seen in some of the principles of latter, e.g. separate existence of soul and matter, suffering belonging to matter and not to soul, identi-

21. His *History of Ancient Civilization*, p. 214, also the *Preta-Khaṇḍa* of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 216 ; also *Pāraskaragṛhya Sūtra*, Chapter on *Vivāha Saṃskāra*.

23. MACDONELL : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 421-423.

24. Sir William Jones' *Works* I. 360 ; COLEBROOK : *Miscellaneous Essays*, I. 436 ; RADHAKRISHNAN ; *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, Introduction.

fication of soul with light, etc. During the first few centuries of the Christian era, when the Neo-Platonist philosophy flourished, there was a brisk intercourse between India and Alexandria (Egypt). With regard to the Indian influence on Christian Gnosticism, in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, MACDONELL remarks<sup>25</sup>—"The Gnostic doctrine of the opposition between Soul and Matter, of the personal existence of intellect, will, and so forth, the identification of soul and light are derived from the Sāṃkhya system. The division, peculiar to several Gnostics of men into the three classes of *pneumatikoi*, *psychikoi*, and *hylikoi*, is also based on the Sāṃkhya doctrines of the three *Guṇas*. Again, Bardesanes, a Gnostic of the Syrian school, who obtained information about India from Indian philosophers, assumed the existence of a subtle ethereal body which is identical with the *Linga Śarīra* of the Sāṃkhya system. Finally many heavens of the Gnostics are evidently derived from the fantastic cosmogony of later Buddhism". Even in the present century, the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* did not fail to produce a lasting impression on the mind of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann whose philosophical ideas were immensely influenced by the Indian thought.

In science and literature, especially fables, the western world has borrowed much from India. From the earliest times, India had witnessed the growth and development of various sciences such as Mathematics, Medicine, Astronomy, Industrial Chemistry and other physical sciences<sup>26</sup>. Traces of Indian influence on Greek mathematics and medical science are found even today. The numerical figures invented by the Hindus are adopted all over the world. The influence which the decimal system of counting dependent on those figures has had, not only on Mathematics in general but also on the progress of civilization can hardly be overestimated.<sup>27</sup>

Geometry of the Greeks is so very similar to that of the *Sulva Sūtras*, that according to CANTOR, the historian of Mathematics, borrowing must have taken place on one side or the other. In the opinion of that authority the *Sulva Sūtras* were influenced by the Alexandrian geometry of Hero (215 B.C.), which he thinks, came to India after 100 B.C. The *Sulva Sūtras* are, however, far earlier than that date, for they form an integral portion of the *Śrauta Sūtras*, and their geometry is a part of Brāhmanical theology, having taken its rise in India from practical motives, just as in the case of the science of grammar. The prose parts of the *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* constantly speak of the arrangement of the sacrificial ground and construction of altars according to some very strict rules.

The science of medicine was developed in India, from a very early time. There is such a striking similarity between the Indian and the Greek science, that some scholars are prone to suggest 'that the *Materia Medica* of the Greeks, even of Hippocrates—"the Father of Medicine", is based on the

25. MACDONELL : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 423.

26. DUTT : *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, pp. 3-4, 241-256.

27. MACDONELL : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 424.



older *Materia Medica* of the Hindus<sup>28</sup>. The two standard works on Hindu medicine—*Caraka Samhitā* and *Suśruta Samhitā*, belong to the first century of the Christian era, which shows that the science had made great progress in the Buddhist age. At a later period in the Middle Ages, Indian sciences and literature began to filter in Europe through Arabia. The Arabs were the cultural torch-bearers of the Hindus, in mediaeval Europe. They learnt the Indian wisdom and taught it to their European disciples.

The Arabs themselves admit their indebtedness to India for their knowledge of Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and the science of medicine<sup>29</sup>. In Arabic, the word for numerals is *Himsā* (*Hind-sā*) meaning 'like that of India'. Learned Arabs like ABU JAFAR and ALBERUNI clearly admit that the credit of inventing the decimal system of counting should go to the Hindus. The *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, (art. on Zero) also supports this view. The medical sciencē of the Arabs draws its breath from the translations of Sanskrit books on *Āyurveda*. The Khalifs of Baghdad had got several Sanskrit books translated into Arabic, and thus laid the foundation of the Arab medical science. Bazouhyeh, a contemporary of Anu Sherwan (A.D. 531—A.D. 579), had visited India to study the Indian medical science. In the 8th century, Al-Mansoor translated into Arabic several Sanskrit books. The Khalif Harunal Rashid (A.D. 786—A.D. 809) had invited Indian physicians to his court. Thus the Arabs were indebted to the Hindus for their medical science, which they introduced in Europe. This explains the acquaintance of the Latin language with the name of *Caraka*.

Indian influence on some of the Greek fables is traceable upto a point, which is clearly discernible in the case of the fairy tales and fables of the mediaeval Europe. Here again the medium was Arabia. The Sassanian King Khosru Anushirvan (A.D. 531—A.D. 579) got the *Pañcatantra* translated into Pehlevi by a Persian physician named BARZOI. In the year 570 A.D., this version was translated into Syriac ("Kalilag and Damnag"). In the 8th century, it was translated into Arabic ("Kalilah and Dimnah"), which version gave rise to so many others e.g. later Syriac (A.D. 1000), the Greek (A.D. 1180), the Persian (A.D. 1130), this latter recast (A.D. 1494), the old Spanish (A.D. 1251), the Hebrew (A.D. 1250).<sup>30</sup> The literatures of Europe in the Middle Ages, drew their inspiration from the Hebrew version.<sup>31</sup> In A.D. 1270, this version was translated into Latin ("Directorium Humane Viloe") by JOHN of Capua, and this is the fourth stratum of translation of the *Pañcatantra*. This Latin version was responsible for the German ("Das Buch der Baysphel der alten Wysen"), which was first printed about A.D. 1481. Between A.D. 1483 and A.D. 1485 four dated editions appeared at Ulm, and till A.D. 1592, thirteen more were brought out. All this is a sufficiently

28. *Ibid.*, p. 426; also KEITH, A. B.: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 513-15.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 424-27.

30. KEITH A. B.: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 357-59.

31. MACDONELL: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 417-18.

eloquent proof of the importance of this work as a means of instruction and amusement during the 15th and 16th centuries. The *Directorium* was responsible for the Italian version (A.D. 1552), which was translated into English by Sir THOMAS NORTH (A.D. 1570). The latter was thus separated from the Indian original by five interesting translations and, a period of thousand years.

JOHN of Demascus, living at the court of Khalif Almansur (A.D. 753-A.D. 774), under whom *Kaliah and Dimnah* was translated into Arabic, rendered in Greek, a *Jātaka* story of Bodhisattva, titled *Barlaam and Josaphat*. "This became a manual of Christian theology and was translated in the Middle Ages into many Oriental and European languages. It contains Indian fables and parables. The very hero of the story is no other than Bodhisattva (Josaphat being derived from it). This Josaphat rose to the rank of a saint both in the Greek and the Roman church, his day in the former being August 26, and in the latter, November 27. That the founder of an atheistic Oriental religion should have developed into a Christian saint is one of the most astonishing facts in religious history."<sup>32</sup> Along with the fable literature, the game of chess was also introduced into Europe from India. It is really creditable for India that it should supply recreation and amusement to the knights of the Mediæval Europe, who did not know how to while away their time, having no serious work to do in an age of feudalism.

The foregoing account shows clearly how ancient Indian culture had exercised its influence over the western world, many a century before the birth of Christ. The existence of the Aryans in this part is established on the evidence of the old documents emanating from ancient Egypt and Babylonia.<sup>33</sup> This evidence may be summed up as under :—

(i) *Kassite documents* (about 1760 B.C.).

In the names of their kings, recorded in the old documents, occur elements recalling Indo-Iranian deities, e.g. *Surias*, *Marutas*, *Bugas*. Moreover, these Kassites introduced the use of horse for drawing chariots into Babylonia, and its later Babylonian name *Susu* seems to be derived from *Aśva*.

(ii) *Records of Mitanni Rulers* (1460 B.C.).

Three centuries later, when the diplomatic archives found at Tel-el-Amarna cast a flood of light on the affairs of Western Asia, we find a distinctively Aryan dynasty ruling among the Mitānni on the upper Euphrates. These princes had good Aryan names—*Suttarna*, *Dusratta*, *Artatama*; and also worshipped Indo-Iranian deities.

(iii) *Mitānni and Hittite records* (1360 B.C.).

In 1907, WINCLER startled the learned world by identifying the names of four gods, already familiar from the *R̥gveda*, invoked as witness to a treaty

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-20.

33. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 72, 73; WINTERNITZ : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 304-06; GRISWOLD : *The Religion of the R̥gveda*, pp. 19, 34,

signed in 1360 B.C. The divine beings who are named together with other gods—ten Babylonian and four native Mitānnian, are *Ind-a-ra*, *Uru-v-na* or *A-ru-na*, *Mitra*, *Nāsatya*.

(iv) *Another Mitānnian document.*

Another document emanating from Mitānnian has turned up among the Hittite archives from Boghazkeui. It deals significantly enough with horse breeding and contains a series of Aryan numerals—*Aika*, *Teras*, *Panzas*, *Satta*, *Nav*—in expressions like *Aikavartanna vassannasaya* (one round of the stadium). Finally, we know that there existed among the Mitānni at this time, a class of warriors styled *Marianna* which has suggested comparison with the Sanskrit *Marya* meaning, young men, heroes.

(v) *Tell-el-Amarna tablets* (about 1400 B.C.).

The Tell-el-Amarna tablets mention Aryan princes ruling in Syria and Palestine. e.g. *Biri-das of Yenoam*, *Suwardata of Keilah*, *Yasdata of Taanach*, *Artamanya of Tir-Ba-shan*, and others.

All this evidence clearly establishes the existence of Aryan influence in Western Asia in the second millennium before Christ. As to the Mitānni's being Aryans, not a tinge of doubt can exist. Indologists try to explain the presence of the Aryans in the heart of the Semitic civilisation in diverse ways. According to JACOBI, PARGITER and KONOW the Mitānni must have reached Babylonia by the sea-route and settled there. While MACDONELL and others think that a branch of the Aryans on their way to India from Central Europe, might have settled down in Babylonia.

The controversy regarding the original home of the Aryans is unnecessarily stretched by most of the European Indologists who seem to be bent upon assigning the ancient Aryans to some of the European countries for which not a tinge of evidence exists, whereas the very existence of these Aryans and whatever stood for Aryan culture, was known to the world through sources purely Indian. For an impartial observer in the light of evidence available, India cannot but be the original home of the Aryans. Hence the existence of the Aryans in Western Asia in the second millennium B.C. was due to their spread from India.

The influence of ancient India over the Far East may be traced in the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, China and Japan, and the Brahmanic colonization of eastern islands. From 3rd century B.C. Buddhism was being gradually introduced in the eastern countries. According to the Chinese chroniclers, in the year 217 B.C., the Buddhist missionaries had visited China, and were arrested for preaching their religious doctrines. In the Chinese literature, there occurs a story of an emperor who saw in a dream a yellow god, demanding worship. The courtly astrologers interpreted the dream and said that the yellow god was Buddha. On this, the emperor sent for two Buddhist monks from India, and Kāśyapa and Mātanga were sent in 67 A.D. Thus Buddhism was introduced in China. Buddhist literature began to be translated into Chinese and the new religion began to take firm roots in China. But Confucianism, the chief tenets of which were ancestor worship and parent

worship, could not live harmoniously with the Buddhist religion which encouraged ascetic life. For about two centuries, no Chinese was allowed to enter the Buddhist order. But the Buddhist monks from India kept visiting China. As a result of their efforts, the Chinese were granted permission, in the 4th century A.D. to join the order. In course of time, the Chinese began to visit the holy land of India. Kumārajīva, the famous Buddhist monk was in China when Fahien was visiting India. Itsing, another Chinese Buddhist, while travelling in India, met with several Chinese *Bhikṣus* who were also on the same mission.<sup>34</sup> Thus Buddhism made a rapid progress in China.<sup>35</sup>

In China, the prospects of Buddhism varied with different emperors. Up to the 7th century A.D. it could be allowed to flourish. After that, love for national religion and family ties led to the issuing of a decree by the Emperor which compelled the monks numbering about 12,000, to become family-men. In the 9th century A.D. 46,000 monasteries were destroyed and 2,60,000 Buddhist monks were compelled to become laymen. In the 10th century, 30,000 Buddhist temples were closed down. But even then, Buddhism could not be rooted out from China. And the Taoism (the national church of the Chinese) was a natural ally of Buddhism. Its deities were incorporated in Buddhism and it, in its turn, adopted the system of monasteries. A Chinese felt that all the religious beliefs were necessary for him. Moreover, a Buddhist monk could easily join household life.

Introduction of Buddhism in Tibet was due to accidental causes. In the year 632 A.D. a strong and ambitious king, named Strongtsan-Gampo was ruling there. He thought of entering into matrimonial alliance with China and Nepal. Both the princes were Buddhists and naturally the King found it necessary to invite some Buddhist *Bhikṣus* from India to wait upon the religious needs of the princesses.

In the first half of the 7th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller noticed that Buddhism had already entered Tibet. He had seen the envoy of the Tibetan King, who had come to take holy literature to Tibet. After a century, Buddhism began to spread in the country. In the reign of the sixth successor of Strongtsan Gampo, who began to encourage the new religion, a Buddhist monk named Padma-Sarīnbhava was invited from Nālanda.

Buddhism of Tibet was degenerated owing to the *Tāntric* influence of Bihar and Bengal Buddhism. In the year 749 A.D., the first Buddhist monastery was built. The national religion at this time was a worship of spirits, ghosts and dead men, who were believed to destroy and work havoc on the living persons. The religion was a spirit-worship in its crudest form. Even human sacrifices were offered. Thus Buddhism could get a strong footing in such a soil, though it could not altogether remove the original religion. In 9th century A.D. the Buddhist canon was translated into Tibetan and royal privileges were accorded to monks and nuns. In 10th century A.D., a slight setback was experienced because one of the Kings turned out to be a persecutor

34. TAKAKUSU : *Itsing*, Introduction.

35. *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1933, pp. 897-900.

of Buddhism but was murdered. In 13th century A.D., Tibet passed under the control of Mongolia. The emperor Kublaikhan realised the political importance of Buddhism and ordered its propagation in Mongolia. Thus *Lamaism* became the religion of Mongolia. In 15th century A.D., Tsang-Kapa Lama reformed the religion, the organisation being made stricter. He started the theory that every Lama was an incarnation of Padma-Sambhava. In the next century, the Lama came to be regarded as the incarnation of *Avalokiteśvar Bodhisattva*.

In Korea, Buddhism was introduced by the Chinese in 372 A.D. At that time, Korea was divided into three kingdoms, all of which gradually embraced Buddhism. Within fifty years the whole of the country, adopted the new faith. In 912 A.D. all the three dynasties were united into one, by a new dynasty which was so strongly Buddhist that a law was promulgated that one of every three sons should join the Buddhist order. This dynasty came to an end in the 16th century and was succeeded by another which abandoned it as a state-religion. Thus Buddhism lost its former influence, though today it commands the greatest religious power.

Japan<sup>36</sup> got Buddhism from Korea in 5th century A.D. before which *Shintoism* was the religion of the land. This religion was quite crude ; nothing but ancestor-worship along with the belief that the emperor had descended from the Sun-goddess. In it, there was also an element of hero-worship. But it had no celebrations, festivals and system, nor any philosophy or ethics.

The Buddhist missionaries sent to Japan by the King of Korea, were not cordially received at the first instance. But one of the emperors in the 7th century A.D. championed the cause of Buddhism and it began to spread. In the 8th century A.D., another emperor passed a decree that the Shinto deities were but the former incarnations of *Bodhisattva*. This amalgamated religion was known as *Ryōbu-Buddhism* or *Shintoism*. Thus, upto the 17th century A.D. all the culture of Japan was centred round Buddhism, after which Chinese *Confucianism* was adopted as religion by the higher sections of society, But the popular mind was strongly attached to Buddhism. It continued to retain that position till 1867 A.D., the year of the Revolution in Japan. One of the four acts of the new Government declared *Shintoism* to be the state-religion ; consequently Buddhism was undermined. It lost state-support and its union with *Shintoism* was declared null and void. Despite all this, today it is the strongest religious force in Japan and even Christianity cannot vie with it.

From the *Divyāvadāna*, we learn that Soṇa and Uṭṭar were sent by Ashoka to Burma for converting the country to Buddhism. Consequently, Buddhism was introduced in Pegu and Ārākān. But the Burman tradition attributed its spread to Buddha-Ghoṣa of Ceylon in the 5th century A.D. Originally, he was living in Magadha. The Ceylon tradition about his life does not mention his missionary work in Burma. Perhaps some of his disciples may have gone there. The Burmans had no religion at the time and were soon converted to

36. CUNNINGHAM : *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. MAJUMDAR, introduction, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

the new faith. Burma today, is one of the few countries that believe in Buddhism alone. The religion has got a strong hold on the popular mind.

Historical records of the Chinese and the recent finds (in Central Asia) prove beyond all doubt, that Buddhism flourished in Central Asia,<sup>37</sup> over which the great Buddhist emperor Kaniška (about A.D. 78) had held sway. It was the most dominant religion in those parts, in the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist, who started on a pilgrimage to India, in 629 A.D. has given us a picture of the country in the 7th century A.D., when most of the manuscripts now discovered, were written. On his return journey, he traversed Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. All along, he found Buddhism to be the dominant religion. Several thousands of monks lived in the monasteries of the countries. The traveller has noted for us the various characteristics of the people, who had nothing in common except their religion. They had variety of dress, customs, manners, languages and modes of writing. The last was borrowed, no doubt from India in each case. Later on the Turks appeared on the scene and united them all into a people. Eastern Turkestan in matter of religion was merely a province of India. Gradually, Christianity was also introduced. Soon after came on the scene, a new and aggressive rival in the form of Islam, the first conversions to which took place in Kashgar and the first Islamic dynasty rose there. The older faiths continued their existence but the tide of Islam could not be stemmed. From the 14th century onwards, Turkestan became definitely Muhammadan. China acquired Islam in 1750 A.D. but the national religion could not be altered.

In recent years a valuable hoard of manuscripts has been discovered in the ruins of what were old Buddhist monasteries, the decipherment of which sheds a flood of light on the cultural history of central Asia.<sup>38</sup> The new finds have also opened a new page in the literary history of Buddhism. About the Buddhist influence in Central Asia, S. N. MAJUMDAR remarks<sup>39</sup>—"The recent discoveries in Central Asia, exhibit the great influence of Buddhist missionaries in that region. India's connection with Tibet, China, Japan and Manchuria does not require any comment. Even such a distant place as Lord North's Island in Micronesia, was indebted to Buddhist missionaries for its religious instruction."

As regards the Eastern Archipelago, the spread of Brahmanism started in the first or second century of the Christian Era. In ancient Tamil literature we get references to voyages to those islands.<sup>40</sup> Jāvā is referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki as 'Yava-Dvīpa.' The four Yūpa inscriptions<sup>41</sup> of the 4th century A.D. of a certain King Mūlavarman have been discovered in east Borneo, in which there is reference to a colony of Brāhmaṇas who celebrated *Yajña* in the true Vedic style. Fahien's accounts (4th century A.D.) also point in the

37. *Ibid.*

38. HOERNLE : *The Bower Manuscript*, (1914).

39. See note 36.

40. AṬṬHANGAR : *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 113-14.

41. CUNNINGHAM : *Ancient Geography of India*, Introduction, pp. xxiv.

same direction and prove beyond all doubt the existence of Brahmanism in Jāvā. FAHIEN says<sup>42</sup>—" After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called ' Java Dvipa ' where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it, is not worth speaking of.

The *International Geography* tells us about the Brahmanic influence in Java even today, in these words,<sup>43</sup>—" The west of Jāvā is peopled by the Javanese, and the island of Madura at its eastern extremity which is always included with Java, by a distinct race the Madurese. All of them are Malayas but in the Jāvānese there is a strain of Hindu blood. In addition, there is a large population of Chinese, Arabs and other nationalities.... The three chief languages differ from each other widely. Javanese, however, is the most elaborate and highly developed. It possesses both a court and a vulgar dialect and has a script, peculiar to itself which had its origin in India. All these peoples are Mohammadans, tintured in the West with Paganism and in the east with Brahmanism .... The first immigration into Jāvā so far as known, by races subsequent to the Malaya occupation, was by Hindus, probably about 800 years before their power was broken by the Arabs (Mohammadans) in 1478. They introduced their religion and a high civilization into eastern Jāvā and the island of Bali, which is attested by the ruins in those regions, of great cities and finely sculptured temples."

The island of Bali was also colonised by the Brāhmaṇas from India, where exist even today, ruins of Brahmanic temples. The present inhabitants follow a faith very akin to Brahmanism. They venerate Hindu gods and Hindu literature. Cow is regarded a sacred animal. Their language also seems to have been derived from Sanskrit. About the island, the *International Geography* remarks<sup>44</sup>—" The Balinese are Malayas, with a strain of Hindu blood, who still retain the Brahmanical religion, which elsewhere in the Archipelago is lost. They possess an extensive literature in a language of their own, written in slightly modified Javanese characters." Thus it is obvious how the islands of Eastern Archipelago were influenced by Brahmanism.

The foregoing account of the spread of Indian culture both in the west and the east shows how from earliest times down to the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era, the Hindus strove hard for teaching their wisdom abroad. The world owes much of its cultural heritage to this ancient land of the Hindus. Decimal system of counting with the place value of Zero, several theological and philosophical doctrines, an interesting fable literature, and the most intellectual game, are some of the valuable gifts which ancient India gave to the West. In the same way, it is obvious what an important role did Buddhism play in moulding the cultural destinies of the Far East and Central Asia ; and Hindu colonization of the eastern islands goes to the credit of the Brāhmaṇas of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era.

42. LEGGE : *Fahien*, Ch. XXXIX.

43. *The International Geography by Seventy authors*, edited by H. L. MILL, p. 562.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

# MAHĀVĪRA AS THE IDEAL TEACHER OF THE JAINAS

By

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To the members of any religious Order, the Founder always remains the ideal in all matters. To the Jainas to whom study and teaching of their sacred scriptures are such important duties, Mahāvīra is, therefore, naturally the ideal teacher. The sacred scriptures of the Jainas, unlike those of the Buddhists, contain but little information on the personal and human aspects of the Founder of the Order. But from the scanty details available here and there in the canon on the personal characteristics of Mahāvīra, given wholly casually and incidentally and not intentionally, it would not be without interest to attempt to reconstruct, although, mainly based on inference, a picture of Mahāvīra as a teacher, as he appeared to his contemporaries.

In the canon, more particularly in the *Viyāhapannatti*, the fifth āṅga commonly known as the *Bhagavati*, we come across an enormously large number of questions<sup>1</sup> put to Mahāvīra by various people, which he answered. This suggests that his sermons and discourses were of such a nature as encouraged and stimulated questioning. He was surely not averse to answering questions; on the contrary he must have readily answered them. Though questions of a trivial nature were put to him as a trap by sceptics or adversaries, he appears to have had the skill to parry them off, occasionally with a touch of wit.

For instance, being questioned by Somila, a Brāhmaṇa, whether he regarded *Sarisaṇvā* as edible, Mahāvīra replied that he could certainly not use "people of the same age" in that manner but that "mustard seeds" were eatable by an ascetic if devoid of life and given by another.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly in answer to a question on the edibility of māsa (a kind of cereals), he said that if the word meant "a month" (Māsa), it could not be an article of consumption, nor if it meant a "standard of weight" (Māṣa). Again, were *Kulasthā* edible? Certainly not, he replied, if it meant "members of a respectable family" (Kulasthāḥ), but if it meant the cereal of that name, then it was edible, of course under the approved conditions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Owing to the predominance in them of this characteristic, a group of texts, such as the *Viyāhapannatti*, *Jivābhigama*, *Pannavaṇā*, *Jambuddivapannatti*, etc. have been designated collectively by SCHUBRING as the "Question-Texts", See *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 10.

2. There is a play on words here, *Sarisaṇvā* being taken to mean *Sadṛśa-vayāḥ* or *saṛṣapāḥ*.

3. *Viyāhap.* 18, 10.



Mahāvīra's discourses were very elaborate. It is said that he spoke in Ardhamāgadhī<sup>4</sup>, and that everyone of his hearers, no matter what their mother-tongue might have been, understood him<sup>5</sup>. Although this latter characteristic gift is regarded in *Samavāya*, p. 60B, as one of the occult and superhuman qualities possessed in common by all Buddhas and Arhats, yet in its natural setting it can be taken as meaning that Mahāvīra's manner of discourse was not pedantic but such as would be understood by every average person. The elaborate, repetitive and exhaustive style, features so characteristic of the canon, might have been inspired by Mahāvīra's own style of discourse—a style that would have to convince and convert men of average intelligence.

The strong leaning towards classification and division which we find in the Canon, may be traced back to Mahāvīra and may be accounted for by his method of analytically treating any subject that came under discussion. In this analytical process, enumeration naturally played an important part for setting down with precision the various ways in which an object of conception was capable of being divided. Everyone familiar with the literature of the Jainas knows how extensively the Jainā scholiasts applied this method of classification and how intensively they pushed their zeal for enumeration.

The questions and answers between his interrogators and Mahāvīra have been preserved in the Canon mostly as matter-of-fact enumerations, but yet it is not impossible to obtain from them some glimpses of the manner of speaking adopted by him. Of very great importance in this connection are the large number of similes which Mahāvīra used in explaining his meaning to his hearers, and which have been recorded so prosaically in *Thāṇa IV*, as well as in *Viyāhapannatti*<sup>6</sup>. The intention of these similes was to illustrate human nature and human conduct. They have come down to us in four different types, viz ;

I. In this, the first type, something is said to possess one or other of four qualities, e.g., there are four kinds of blossoms—(i) the mango-blossoms which in due time bear fruits, (ii) the palmyra-blossoms which take very long to produce fruits, (iii) the creeper blossoms which produce fruits very quickly, and (iv) the blossoms of the "ram-horn" (*Meṇḍha-visāṇa*) tree which have a golden colour but which produce inedible fruits. Likewise there are four kinds of men, (i) those who return in due time the benefits they have received from others, (ii) those who take a long time in returning such benefits, (iii) those who give very quick return and, (iv) those who indulge in beautiful words only and never make any return for benefits received from others.<sup>7</sup>

II. In the second type of these similes, something is said to possess one quality but not a second quality, or the second quality but not the first,

4. That must mean, of course, Old Ardhamāgadhī, a forerunner and earlier stage of the language of the extant canon. See SCHUBRING, *Lehre*, pp. 14, 31.

5. *Uvavāya*, Sect. 56.

6. Also see SCHUBRING, *Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 21 and *Lehre*, p. 183.

7. *Thāṇ*, p. 184A.

or both the qualities, or none of them, e.g., (i) There are birds which have beauty but do not sing, (ii) There are birds which can sing but have no beauty, (iii) There are birds which have beauty and who can also sing, (iv) There are birds who can neither sing nor have beauty. So also with regard to men, some of whom may have this quality and not another, some may have the latter but not the former quality, some may have both the qualities, and some may have none of the qualities.<sup>8</sup>

III. In the third type we have a contrast of opposites, e.g. friends, enemies who pass as friends, friends who pass as enemies, and enemies. The similes of this type refer to the contrast between appearance and reality, rule and exception, as also to the past and present.<sup>9</sup>

IV. In the fourth type of these similes are presented the counterpart of a quality of an object together with an identical expansion of both the attributes, e.g., the shell of a snail that is curved from right to left, a left-ward-curve snail-shell called right-ward-curved, a right-ward-curved snail-shell called left-ward-curved, and a right-ward-curved snail-shell. So are also men.<sup>10</sup> The similes of this type have not been preserved in their complete form, for the human characteristics they dealt with by way of comparison, have not been mentioned. This loss deprives us of a good deal of picturesqueness that would have otherwise been available in these similes and we have to say with SCHUBRING "with regret we miss the explanations which the living speech must once have provided."

All these similes, however,—and quite a large number of them have been preserved—cover a wide range of subjects, such as animal life, plant life, nature, landscape, the household, etc. Two conclusions may be drawn from these numerous similes that have been preserved, viz.,

(i) Mahāvīra frequently referred his hearers to their environments of life and nature. This served the purpose of teaching them to observe life and nature intelligently, as also of bringing home to them the meaning of his teaching ;

(ii) he possessed a "wide experience of life and a deep knowledge of the world and of mankind" to quote the words of SCHUBRING.

LEUMANN has rightly said that if these similes had come down to us not in their present compressed and succinct form but in the full rhetorical and oratorical form in which they were propounded by the living teacher to his contemporaries, then the Jaina Canon would not have been inferior in rank in its aesthetic values, to the literature of the Buddhists<sup>11</sup>.

Unfortunately not much more is known about the qualities or technique of Mahāvīra in the role of a teacher. But from the development of later days we can infer that the characteristics of the Master referred to above were remembered and handed down by tradition, to be adopted and practised by the generations of subsequent Jaina teachers.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 234B.

10. *Tihāṇ*, p. 216A.

9. *Ibid.* p. 284A.

11. *ZIMG*, 3. 331.

# BHARADVĀJAS' HYMNS TO AGNI\*

(RV. VI, 1-16)

By

DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH.D. (Marburg)

VI, 5.

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

1. With prayers do I call for you, the youthful son of might, whose word is not false, the youngest one ; who, being the much coveted-one devoid of malice and known far and wide, sends forth treasures.

2. In thee, O thou multi-faced Hotṛ, do the adorable (gods) produce treasures at eve and morn, as the earth (produces) all creatures ; in whom, the purifying one, they have united all good things.

3. Thou hast sat from ancient times among these clans ; with wisdom didst thou become the charioteer of things desirable. From these dost thou distribute the treasures in succession to the worshipper, O wise Jātavedas !

4. Whoever—far-staying (enemy) attacks us, O Agni, and whoever—the neighbourly (enemy)—may rival us, him, O thou Celebrated-as-Mitra, burn with thy own ageless bull-like (flames), thou burning with thy heat, O fiercest Burner !

5. He, who is liberal unto thee, O Son of strength, with worship and fag-got, with hymns and praise-songs, shines out, O thou Immortal One, in the midst of mortal ones, himself being known far and wide with wealth, splendour and glory !

6. Being thus urged, do this quickly, O Agni : thou being mighty subdue the enemies, with thy might ! When everyday, thou art praised with words, anointed (with butter) then, enjoy this (praise) of the singer ! Listen to his (thoughtful) poem !

VI, 5.

1a : II, 4, 1.

1b : VI, 22, 2d.

1d : VI, 15, 7.

2 : VIII, 78, 8.

2b : III, 11, 9.

2c : AV. XII, 1, 15.

2d : I, 31, 10 ; 59, 3 ; VI, 1, 5 ; X, 6,

6 ; 140, 3.

3cd : I, 58, 3 ; IV, 12, 3.

4ab : Cf. VI, 62, 10 wherein *ántara*, *sánutya* and *vanuṣyāt* are used, of course in another context.

5ab : VI, 13, 4.

5d : I, 92, 8.

6b : I, 127, 10.

6c : VI, 4, 6 ; 69, 3c.

\* Continued from *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 251.

7. May we gain this wish with thy protection, O Agni ! May we obtain, O Wealthy one, wealth consisting of good sons ! May we obtain booty whilst striving for the same ! May we obtain thy ageless glory, O thou Ageless one !

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## VI, 6.

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

1. He, desiring progress and protection (namely, the Hotṛ or the poet himself), approaches with the newest worship and with invocation, the son of strength, who rends the wood and has a blackened pathway : the radiant one ; the divine invoker.

2. He, the shining one (like) a\*thunder, dwelling in lustre with his un-aging, roaring (flames) is this most youthful Agni, who, the purifying one, the first among the many, goes after many spacious (woods) and chews them.

3. Driven by the wind thy pure flames, O pure Agni, disperse in all directions. The mightily destructive (flames), (like) the divine Navagvas, overcome the woods, demolishing them boldly.

4. Those bright pure horses which are thine, O Pure one, are unfastened and (they) shave the ground beneath them. Thy whirling (flame) then widely shines refulgent, spreading over the ridges of the earth.

5. Then, the Bull's tongue darts forward like the discharged missile of one who fights for cattle (Indra). Like the onset of a hero is the flame of Agni : resistless, dreadful he consumes the forests.

6. Thou, with the light of the great Impeller, hast boldly overspread the earthly spaces. So with thy mighty prowess drive off (all) terrors ; attacking our rivals crush (our) enemies down.

7. Give us, O Brilliant one, O one of brilliant Might, brilliant, resplendent, most brilliant, life-giving (wealth) ; bestow bright, great wealth, vast with many heroes, with thy bright flames, O Bright one, upon the singer !

## VI, 6.

There are many alliterations in the hymn.

1b : II, 21, 5. *gātúm* in the sense of *bráhmane gātúm* in VII, 13, 3 ; IX, 96, 10.

2a : "Thunder" which shines through lightnings.

2d. *Sāyaṇa* supplies "woods" to *purāṇi pṛthūni*.

3c : *nāvagvāḥ*, if correct would be a *luptopamā*. The idea seems to be that the flames demolish the woods as the Navagvas demolished the Vala.

3d : I, 139, 10.

4d. *ādhi* to be connected with *sānu* which is possibly used for *sānuṇi*.

5cd : II, 25, 3.

6ab : VI, 12, 1 ; 16, 21.—*toḍá* cf. I, 150, 1 ; VI, 12, 3. ROTH takes it to mean the horse-driving sun-god ; GELDNER (orally) : "driving (or chasing)—stick."

7ab. Poetic play with *citrá-*, *√cit-*, cf. IV, 32, 2.

7c : IV, 44, 6a.

7d : The simple *√yu*, here as in VI, 39, 1, is used in the sense of *nī-yu-* *Sāyaṇa* : *pṛthakkuru*.

## VI, 7.

Hymns 7-9 are addressed to Agni Vaiśvānara.

(Metre : sts. 1-5 Triṣṭubh ; sts. 6-7 Jagatī.)

1. Him, the head of heaven, the lord of earth, the Agni Vaiśvānara, the one born in righteousness (*ṛta*), the Seer, the Sovereign, the Guest of men ;— in his mouth the gods have created a (drinking-)vessel.

2. Unto him, the navel of sacrifices, the seat of riches, the great cistern— have they simultaneously praised. They have created the Vaiśvānara as a conveyer of sacrifices, as an ensign of worship.

3. From thee arises the sage, the victorious one, O Agni, from thee arise the heroes who subdue the adversaries. Grant thou unto us, O Vaiśvānara, the treasures worthy to be longed for, O King !

4. Unto thee, O Immortal one, when thou art being born, do all gods simultaneously sing for joy as (cows) unto an infant. Through thy spiritual powers they attained to immortality, O Vaiśvānara, when thou didst shine (in the lap) of the two elders.

5. O Vaiśvānara, these great ordinances of thine none has ever resisted ; O Agni, whilst being born in the lap of thy elders (heaven and earth), thou hast found the ensign in the days' appointed courses.

6. Through the eye of the Vaiśvānara, through the ensign of immortality are the peaks of heaven measured. Upon his head (stand) all worlds ; like the branches have his seven arms(?) grown.

7. (He is) Vaiśvānara, the very wise one, the sage, who has measured the spaces and the lights of heaven, who has spread himself over all the worlds, the uninjured guard and the protector of immortality.

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## VI, 7.

1a : I, 59, 2 ; III, 2, 14 ; VS. XIII, 14.

1d. Anacoluthon, or two constructions seem to have been mixed up. "The mouth" is that of Agni, cf. I, 14, 8 ; 94, 3 ; 127, 8 ; II, 1, 13. 14 ; III, 35, 9. 10 ; V, 51, 2.

2ab. "They" : the deities according to sts. 1 and 4 ; according to Sāyaṇa, however, the singers.

2a : I, 96, 7.

3 : IV, 11, 3-4.

4b. As regards the simile, see III, 1,

4 ; VII, 2, 5 ; VIII, 88, 1 ; 95, 1 ; IX, 12, 2 ; 86, 31 ; X, 75, 4.

4d. Vaiśvānara as the Sun as in sts. 5-7. To *pitrōh* we have to supply *upāsthe* from st. 5.

5d. Cf. II, 19, 3 ; VI, 39, 3. Accordingly *āhnām* to be connected with both *vayūneṣu* and *ketūm*.

6d. *saptā visrūhah* : obscure ;—are the rays of the sun meant ? Cf. V, 44, 3. According to Sāyaṇa, the rivers.

7a : I, 160, 4 ; VI, 8, 2.

7b : IX, 85, 9.

## VI, 8.

(Metre : sts. 1-6 Jagatī ; st. 7 Triṣṭubh.)

1. I will now proclaim the strength of the invigorating, reddish bull at the divine worship of the Jātavedas. The newest poem will for the Vaiśvānara become cleansed so pure as the Soma ; a beautiful thing for Agni.

2. Being born in the highest heaven Agni protected the (sacrificial) ordinances as a protector (of ordinances). The very wise one measured the atmosphere ; Vaiśvānara touched the heaven with his greatness.

3. He, the wonderful friend, propped the two worlds (heaven and earth) asunder ; he divided the interjacent darkness with his light. He rolled the two worlds (heaven and earth) apart like the two skins. Vaiśvānara equipped himself with all the manly strength.

4. The buffaloes (gods) held him (firmly) in the lap of waters. The clans waited on the king who should be praised. The messenger of Vivasvat, (namely,) Mātariśvan brought Agni Vaiśvānara hither from afar.

5. In every age, O Agni, bestow, a wise (patron) and glorious new wealth upon those that praise thee ! Smite, O immortal King, the slanderer down as it were with a bolt, as a tree with the sharpness (of the axe) !

6. Maintain for our patrons, O Agni, unyielding dominion, unageing heroism ! May we win hundredfold, thousandfold booty through thy favours !

7. With thy uninjured guards, O Darling, protect our patrons, O thou Occupier of three seats ! And protect the band of our donors, O Agni Vaiśvānara ; let them survive (in their children) as thou art being praised !

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## VI, 8.

1*b*. Ōī, is *vidāthā* to be taken as instr. sg. "with wisdom"?

1*d*. Cf. III, 26, 8 ; VI, 10, 2.

2*a* = I, 143, 2*a* ; VII, 5, 7*a*.

2*c* : VI, 7, 7.

2*d* : X, 125, 7.

3*a* : I, 94, 13. Agni is also called the secret king of the clans (VIII, 43, 24).

3*b*. *antarvāvat* : cf. I, 40, 7. To *akṣhot* is *vi* from *a* to be once again supplied. Similar occurrence in I, 37, 7*c* ; 128, 6*f* ; 165, 14*b* ; II, 35, 12*cd* ; VI, 48, 11*c* ; as regards the content, cf. I, 91, 22.

3*c*. Cf. VIII, 6, 5.

4*a* : III, 9, 6 ; IV, 7, 2 ; IX, 86, 30 ; X, 45, 3. "The buffaloes" are the

gods or the ancient poets like Mātariśvan (I, 31, 3) or the Uśij and Bhṛguś (X, 46, 2). According to Sāyaṇa : the Maruts.

4*b* : I, 65, 2*cd*.

4*cd*. Otherwise, Agni is called the messenger of Vivasvat in I, 58, 1 ; VIII, 39, 3 ; X, 21, 5.

4*d* : III, 9, 5.

5*c*. *pavāḍ* : *vajreṇa* according to Sāyaṇa.

6*a* : I, 140, 10 ; V, 27, 6.

6*b*. Sāyaṇa connects *ajāram* and *suvīryām* with *kṣatrām*. He is supported by V, 27, 6 ; VII, 18, 25.

7*ab* : I, 143, 8. According to this latter st., *iṣṭé* is assumed for *iṣṭé-bhiḥ*. "Three seats : " the three fire-altars.

## VI, 9.

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

This profound hymn glorifies the Agni Vaiśvānara as the Light, in fact both as the Light of the world (st. 1) and as the inner Light which enlightens the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi and poet. The real theme is introduced through the doubt in st. 2. The young poet dares not venture in the approaching contest (argument) to find the "thread" which leads up from the earth to the gods since he cannot speak higher than any other man, e.g. his father who is of course his own teacher (st. 2). An inner or some invisible voice directs him to Agni who knows this "thread"<sup>1</sup> (st. 3), as the inner light<sup>2</sup> in men (st. 4), which serves one for spiritual perception, which itself is the winged thought, —to Agni who forms the spiritual centre of the gods (st. 5). Now the poet has his intuition and his thought finds the way in the distant regions<sup>3</sup> (st. 6). He perceives in this spirit how the gods glorified the hidden Agni; the poet then abruptly concludes with the prayer for Vaiśvānara's favour (st. 7). The hymn seems to be a fragment.

1. The black day (i.e. the night) and the bright day, the dark (and the bright) sides (of the sun) with forethoughts. Agni Vaiśvānara, on being born, overcome, like a king, darkness with his light.

2. I do not understand either the warp or woof; nor (do I know) which (web) they weave when moving on to the contest. Whose son shall speak here words higher than his father here below?

3. "Only he understands the warp (thread), he the woof; he will speak the words in due time (i.e. rightly), who recognises it (i.e. the thread), who, (as) the protector of immortality, moving here below sees higher than any other."

4. "This is the first *hotṛ*; perceive him; this is the immortal light among mortals. He was born here, firm-seated, the immortal one, increasing in body."

## VI, 9.

1a : I, 73, 7; 185, 1; VII, 80, 1; VIII, 41, 10.

1b. *rājasi* is *ekaśeṣa*: either apposition to *a* or the dark (and the bright) sides of the sun (cf. BERGAIGNE II, 423; and RV. X, 37, 3), or both the bright and the dark spheres of heaven.

1c. Like a king who overcomes his enemies.

2d. *āvareṇa* forms the contrast to *paraḥ* (prep.) and corresponds with *avās cāran* in st. 3. In *āvare* lies also the secondary idea of inferiority. Cf. also X, 88, 19d.

4c. Pp. correctly *dhruvāh*, cf. III, 64.

1. In I, 142, 1 Agni is said to be spinning this "old thread" himself. The work of the poet is fondly compared with that of the weaver, cf. II, 28, 5.

2. Cf. *Chānd. Up.* III, 13, 7; *Bṛh. Up.* IV, 3, 9. Also in RV. this inner light is often referred to, e.g. III, 10, 5; 26, 8; VIII, 6, 8; IX, 9, 8; X, 177, 1cd.

5. "(He is) the light that is firmly set for (excellent) view : (he is) the thought which is the swiftest among those that fly. All gods, unanimous and with one accord, move properly towards the one thought."

6. My ears fly up, so (does) my eye. so (does) this light which is placed in the heart. My mind roams afar thinking : what shall I speak ? what shall I think ?

7. All the gods bowed into thee out of fear, O Agni, when thou didst stay in darkness. May Vaiśvānara help us with favour ! May the Immortal one help us with favours !

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## VI, 10.

(Metre : sts. 1-6 Triṣṭubh ; st. 7. Dvīpadā Virāj.)

1. Appoint your pleasant, divine, Agni, who has been offered excellent praises, as a presiding priest at the divine service, while the sacrifice (worship) advances ; appoint him with praise-hymns, for he is our illuminator ! May Jātavedas make our rites (divine services) successful !

2. Listen, O Radiant, multi-faced Hotṛ, of Manu, O Agni, who art being enkindled with (other) fires, unto this praise-hymn, which as a stimulus I (sing) unto him as does Mamatā. Pure as *ghee* do my thoughts clarify themselves.

3. That sage (wise one) swelled in glory (among the mortals), who had made offerings unto Agni, with praise-hymns. The marvellously bright one puts him, through his marvellous aids, in the possession of the stable full of cattle.

4. —who, on being born, has filled both the spheres with his splendour, (which is) far visible, and whose paths are dark. Then, he, the purifying one is visible also across the thick darkness of the night with his light.

5b explains a. Cf. VS. XXXIV, 3. 6 ;  
*Kenop.* 1, 1.

5d. Namely, towards the worship of  
Agni, cf. st. 7.

6c : VS. XXXIV, 1.

6d. Supplementary sentence to *mānaḥ*  
—*dūrāādhiḥ*. Direct question instead of an indirect one.

7b : X, 51, 5.

VI, 10.

1ab : I, 139, 1 ; V, 16, 1.

1c : VI, 4, 2.

1d = VII, 17, 4a ; cf. III, 6, 6 ; VII,

17, 3.

2b : VI, 11, 6 ; 12, 6 ; cf. I, 26, 10 ;  
VII, 3, 1 ; VIII, 60, 1 ; X, 141, 6.

2c. An elliptic *pāda*. According to  
Sāyaṇa Mamatā was a learned lady,  
the mother of Dirghatamas. Cf. VI,  
50, 15. LUDWIG : "as it were, out  
of self-interest."

2d : VI, 8, 1 ; VII, 85, 1 ; VIII, 12, 4.

3a : VI, 5, 5.

4cd : III, 27, 13 ; VI, 48, 6 ; 65, 1 ;  
VII, 9, 2 ; VIII, 74, 5.



5. Now, O Agni, bring through thy successful aids, marvellous wealth unto us and the patrons who in patronage and fame are superior to the others and in heroic deeds are above the common people.

6. O Agni, mayst thou willingly find satisfaction in this sacrifice which, seated here, the sacrificer (one who offers oblations) performs unto thee ! Thou hast received an excellent praise-hymn from amongst the Bharadvājas. Help in the attainment of abundant(?) booty !

7. Scatter the enemies ; increase the nutritive strength ! May we, having excellent sons, rejoice, living through hundred winters !

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## VI, 11

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

1. Sacrifice, O Hotṛ, as thou art entreated, bring a better sacrificer, urgently as by instigation of Maruts, O Agni ! Thou shalt bring hither to our sacrifice, Mitra and Varuṇa, the two Nāsatyas, Heaven and Earth.

2. Thou art our most delightful, undeceiving Hotṛ, the god who (accomplishes) the sacrifices (or sacrificial hymns) among mortals. As the spokesman, with a purifying tongue, O Agni, sacrifice with thy mouth to thine body !

3. For, also, the bountiful Dhisaṇā desires (to worship) in thee the birth of Gods for the singer, when the most inspired (wisest one) of the Aṅgirasas, as a singer, sings his sweet metre (measure) in the longing (after the gods).

5c refers to the patrons, d to the poet.

6d : VI, 26, 2.

7a : IX, 29, 4.

7b = VI, 4, 8d.

1a : II, 9, 4 ; III, 4, 3 ; X, 110, 3, 9.

1b : X, 30, 1. Cf. AV. III, 3, 1 *yuñjāntu tvā marutaḥ*, also III, 16, 2 ; 26, 4.

2b. To *vidāthā* is *sādhān* to be supplied, cf. III, 1, 18 ; IV, 16, 3.

2cd. Agni who leads the gods to the sacrifice should not thereby forget himself.

2c. Literally, as a charioteer with the

mouth. Cf. VII, 16, 9. Sāyaṇa : *devānām āsyubhūṭayā vahnir haviṣāṇi voḍhā*.

2d : VIII, 11, 10 ; X, 7, 6. Sāyaṇa thinks of the Agni Sviṣṭakṛt of the later ritual.

3a. *Śāṅkh. Śr.* VIII, 19, 1. *Dhisaṇā* is here the deity of the cult. *dhānyā* (also in V, 41, 8) = *rāyā jānitrā* in X, 35, 7.

3c. According to Sāyaṇa, the present poet : Bharadvāja.

3d. In search (*iṣṭāu*) after the gods, *chāndāḥ* may well be for *chāndaḥ*, cf. the proper name *Madhucchandasa*.

4. He, the refulgent, one is enkindled : he, whose back (side) is (also) beaming. O Agni, worship the wide-spreading Rodasi, as unto Āyu whom the well-feasted one, the five peoples offering oblations anoint with homage.

5. As soon as the Barhis was laid down with homage, unto Agni, the ladle, full of ghee was stretched out, (so also) the excellent hymn. His seat is now situated in the abode of the earth. The sacrifice is directed towards (him) as the eye towards the sun.

6. Be benevolent unto us, O multifaced Hotṛ, with the gods, O Agni, when thou art being enkindled with other fires (clad in riches). With riches surrounding us, may we, O Son of strength, cast off the calamity like a girdle (enclosure?).

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## VI, 12.

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

1. In the middle of the house, Agni, the Hotṛ, the lord of Barhis and of the whip, shall sacrifice unto the two worlds. This righteous son of strength has stretched himself, like the sun from afar with his light.

2. In him, in thee, who hast a beautiful back, O Thou worthy of being worshipped, the heaven may now sacrifice, O King, as it were completely (or, as it were on behalf of all gods)—who occupies three seats like the pinion (of the bird), which has finished its flight. May he consecrate the oblations and the presents for men !

4a. Connect it with *svāpākaḥ* (so OLDENBERG), the opposite of *suprātīka*. The idea is : his back is as beautiful as his front side.

4c. *āyūn ná* : the chieftain of the Āyus may have been meant. Sāyaṇa : like a guest.

5a : VII, 2, 4. Free construction with *yāt* as in I, 52, 6.9 ; 117, 16 ; II, 19, 2 ; III, 36, 8 ; VIII, 93, 14, etc.

5b : I, 153, 2.

5d : V, 1, 4 ; IX, 10, 8 ; X, 16, 3.

6b : VI, 10, 2 ; 12, 6.

6c : IX, 72, 8.

VI, 12.

Perhaps the hymn is not quite correctly handed down.

1ab. A sentence by itself with *yājadhyaī* as verb as in 2d. With *barhiṣo rđt* compare *barhiṣo vīrājasi* in VIII, 13, 4 ; 15, 5.

1b : VI, 2, 11 ; 11, 4 ; 15, 15 ; 16, 24. *rđt* is to be assumed also with *to-dāśya*. The *to-dāśya rđt* is the *arati* in st. 3.

1d. V, 54, 5 ; VI, 16, 21 ; VII, 61, 1.

2. The gods perform their sacrifice in him (a b), cf. X, 88, 7, as also the men (c d). *dyáuḥ* here again the world of gods, cf. VI, 2, 4.

2a. See my note on VI, 11, 4.

2c. The simile is uncertain. The sense is, however, clear : Agni is *triśadhā-stha* like the *jāmhas* of the bird which seats itself down at the conclusion of its flight on both the wings and on the tail-feathers (cf. Tañḍ. V, 1, 17 : *vayaḥ . . . pucchena pratiṣ-ṭhāya utpatati—niśidati*). *jāmhas* then signifies all that serves the bird to fly : wings and tail-feathers.

3. Whose (glow) is the sharpest, the charioteer, the lord of wood, is enkindled waxing like the whip (of the charioteer) on the way. He the immortal one is conspicuous by himself, like a guileless smelter, unrestricted in the woods.

4. This Agni,—Jātavedas is praised in the house with our inflamed words like a runner—wood-eater, who wins like a horse with prudence. As the father of Uṣas was to be made love to, so he was awakened with sacrifices.

5. Then they praise his light, when he wanders over the earth, demolishing (the woods) who if let loose is immediately the quickest runner. Like a debtor-thief he (runs?) over the waste-land.

6. Mayst thou, O Runner, (save) us from blame, O Agni, thou art being enkindled with all fires! Thou procurest the riches; goes against evil. May we rejoice, living hundred winters, with heroes!

[To be continued.]

3a. To *téjiṣṭhā* is a fem. like *tapani* (II, 23, 14) to be supplied. Or, *arati* signifies here as fem. the activity of *arati*.

3b belongs still to the metaphor of the horse-driver. On the contrary *Sāyana*: like the impeller of the world, *Sūrya*, on his way in the air.

3cd: uncertain owing to the—*dravītā* and *avartrāh*.

4a: V, 41, 10.

4b = VII, 12, 2b.

4c: VI, 2, 8.

4d. *jārayāyi* must be a verbal form; see OLDENBERG (*ZDMG*, 55, 302). *jāray* has a double sense and is therefore accented. The simile hints at the incest of heaven (I, 71, 5).

5a: VI, 4, 3.

5b. *ṛnó ná tāyūh*; cf. X, 34, 10.

6a. Incomplete *pāda*.

## MISCELLANEA

### I.—THE ELEVENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will meet under the auspices of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad—Deccan from 20th to 22nd December 1941.

It may be recalled that the First Session of the Conference was held in Poona in November 1919 under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Sessions are held but once in about two years. Each Session issues its own Report and Proceedings, wherein are also published the more important of the papers presented.

Each Session of the Conference begins with an opening Plenary Session, normally presided over by the Patron of the Conference, which is mainly devoted to the welcome-speech and the addresses by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Patron of the Conference, and the General President of the Session. Thereafter the Conference divides itself into various sections presided over by various Section-Presidents. The President of a section normally delivers an opening address, after which various selected papers are presented by scholars and discussed as time permits. At the end there is a closing Plenary Session presided over by the General President.

The All-India Oriental Conference renders valuable service to Oriental scholarship by fostering the study of Classical and Modern languages and literatures of the East and by promoting the cause of History, Philosophy, Anthropology, Religion, Archaeology, Fine Arts, Oriental Sciences, and the Ancient and Medieval Culture of India. It is also through this Conference that India's contribution to world-thought, the significance of her culture, the depth of her learning, the importance of her ancient historical institutions and the glory of her monuments are being recognized by Oriental scholars all over the world.

Orientalists from all over India gather together at the Sessions of the Conference to take stock of the progress made in Oriental Studies and Research.

Mr. Ghulam YAZDANI, M.A., O.B.E., Director of the Archaeological Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, has been elected the General President of the Eleventh Session. The Conference will be divided into 18 Sections and the following gentlemen have been duly elected as Sectional Presidents :

1. Vedic.—Dr. Manilal Patel, Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Andheri, (Bombay).
2. Iranian.—Sardar Dastur Noshervan Kaikobad, High Priest of the Parsees in the Deccan, Poona.
3. Islamic Culture.—Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi, Sir Asutosh Mukerji Prof. of Islamic Culture, University of Calcutta.
4. Arabic Persian etc.—Dr. S. Muhammad Husain Nainar, Post-Graduate Department, University of Madras.
5. Classical Sanskrit.—Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, Principal, Patna College, University of Patna.
6. Ardhamagadhi and Prakrit.—Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Professor, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
7. Philosophy and Religion.—Prof P. P. S. Sastry, Presidency College, Madras.
8. History, Chronology etc.—Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, Head of the Department of Indian History, University of Madras.

9. Archæology, Epigraphy etc.—Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Nagpur University.
10. Philology and Indian Linguistics.—Dr. M. Shahidullah, Prof., Department of Bengali, University of Dacca, Ramna.
11. Ethnology (Anthropology and Mythology).—Mr. M. D. Raghavan, Government Museum, Madras.
12. Fine Arts (including Deccan Art).—Srimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja Saheb of Aundh, Aundh.
13. Technical Sciences (including Ayurvedic and Unani).—Khan Bahadur M. Sanaullah, Archæological Chemist, Government of India, Delhi.
14. Non-Local Indian Languages.—Dr. Baburam Saksena, Reader, Allahabad University.
15. Local Languages : Urdu.—Dr. A. S. Siddiqi, Head of the Department of Arabic and Persian, University of Allahabad.
16. Marathi.—Prof. D. V. Potdar, Secretary, Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal, Poona.
17. Telugu.—Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair.
18. Kannada.—Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore.

Let us hope the forthcoming Session will be a great success. It is now time that the Conference had its own central library, journals and periodicals and such other schemes on hand as would increasingly foster, also during the intervals between the Sessions, useful literary and research activities of an All-India character and importance.

M. P.

## II.—THE FOURTEENTH SESSION OF GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD SAMMELAN

The Fourteenth Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Sammelan is going to be held on October 4 and 5, 1941 at Andheri. The well-known poet and *littérateur*, Shri Ardeshir F. KHABARDAR is elected General President of the Session. As Sectional Presidents the under-mentioned gentlemen have been elected :

1. Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI.—Literature.
2. Dr. D. G. VYAS.—Art.
3. Professor K. H. KAMDAR.—History and Archæology.
4. Professor Rasiklal PARIKH.—Philosophy.
5. Professor C. N. VAKIL.—Economics and Sociology.
6. Professor Vishnuprasad R. TRIVEDI.—Philology.
7. Shri Chunilal V. SHAH.—Journalism.
8. Principal Bhailal S. PATEL.—Science.

An Art Exhibition is also attached to the Session of the Sahitya Parishad. It is the hope of all lovers of Gujarati language and literature that this Session may prove to be a flaming milestone in the progress of all that is good and great for Gujarat, its life and literature.

M. P.

## III.—THE THAKKAR VASSONJI MADHAVJI LECTURES (1941)

Thanks to a handsome endowment the University of Bombay has established a lectureship known as the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures, which invites every year an eminent scholar or a prominent *littérateur* to come over to Bombay

and give five or six discourses on a subject of his choice, dealing with literary, cultural and or historical topics with special reference to Gujarat. Among the lecturers so far invited by the University are Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, the late R. B. K. H. DHURVA, Shri K. M. MUNSHI and Shri A. F. KHABARDAR, the president-elect of the forthcoming Gujarati Literary Conference. This year, the honour was extended to Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI, one of the most successful novelists of Gujarat, who delivered five lectures in the Series from August 25 to August 30, 1941. Shri DESAI's lectures proved to be very interesting and popular indeed, as was evident from the unusually large audience during the whole course of his discourses. We have great pleasure in giving below, a brief summary of the main topics discussed by Shri DESAI. We are thankful to him for providing us with certain details regarding them.

"In his first lecture, Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI discussed the evolution of modern Gujarat—the important forces—geographical and historical—that helped the distinctive formation of what is now known as Gujarat and its culture.

In his second lecture, Shri DESAI dealt with the achievements of the period known as the Moslem period which started in 1300 A.D. in Gujarat and ended with the establishment of the British influence from the third decade of the 19th century. He traced the history of Hindu-Muslim contact in India which, even if it started as a clash, long ago ceased to be so, and developed into one of the most wonderful processes of assimilation of the two very powerful human civilisations: One, Hindu civilisation with a rich, varied past and deep-rooted tradition of an all-embracing nature, and the second being the civilisation known as Mohammedanism, young and adventurous in spirit, with almost an iconoclastic vigour that subdued all effete and decayed forms of culture and started spreading itself like lightning throughout large portions of the world.

The lecturer was emphatic on the point that the great achievement of the Muslim period was the factual unity of Hindus and Muslims in all walks of life under the apparent differences in religion, which also were getting so diluted as not to stand in the way of joint action, social, political and cultural.

Along with this unity between the Hindus and Muslims Shri DESAI pointed out the following as some of the notable achievements of Gujarat :—

1. distinctive Gujarati ego ;
2. a well-defined and literary Gujarati language ;
3. the dress, particularly that of women ;
4. Rāsā, an original form of Gujarati poetry ; which combined in itself the essence of music, poetry and dance ;
5. architectural wonders of Abu, Pattan and Modhera ;
6. the adventurous Gujarati merchant ;
7. the intelligent and energetic peasant of Gujarat ;
8. its cosmopolitan view of citizenship ; and
9. last but not the least GĀNDHĪJĪ, an embodiment of all that was best in Indian culture with a definite Gujarati twist in it.

The subject discussed in the third lecture was "Nanlal, a representative *litterateur* of modern Gujarat." The lecturer discussed therein the fundamental elements that shaped NANALAL's literary career and therein he pointed out the outstanding merits of the poet who added new force, novelty, rich variety and ravishingly beautiful images and symbols in the form and content of Gujarati literature. He also mentioned in an outspoken manner the limitations of this literary giant of Gujarat, such as his giddy unreality, exaggeration and irritating mannerisms.

The fourth lecture of the series on "canons of literary criticism—ancient and modern", was devoted to considerations of merits and demerits of ancient and

modern canons of criticism. Shri DESAI gave several illustrations of both the styles and anticipated a happy combination of old and new canons of literary criticism to make it a really helpful science to guide literary efforts.

In the last—the fifth lecture Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI discussed the question of realism in literature—a much misunderstood and confusing problem involving a number of contradictions. According to the lecturer, art was no confused jumble of human psychosis.

Realism in literature assumed many forms. The darker and the lurid side of life would certainly seek an entrance into literature, and he gave a number of instances from the past and present masters. Laughter, satire, sarcasm assumed convenient and artistic proportions in delineating realism in literature; and in fact, a certain amount of vulgarity, plebianism and angular mannerism had a place in works of art. But Shri DESAI laid down that realism should serve a definite artistic purpose and that it need not discard idealism, as the latter, too, is a part of human life. If realism was to find a place in literature it should always accept three conditions, namely :—

1. It should be appropriate, and serve an artistic purpose.
2. It should not offend against good taste.
3. It should always keep an eye on the prevalent notions regarding taste and appropriateness, even if it sought to re-fashion them."

Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI presided over the first, and Shri K. M. MUNSHI over the last lecture of the Series.

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## REVIEWS

*Vyavahāraśiromaṇi of Nārāyaṇa*. Edited by Dr. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D.  
Published by the University of Madras. 1941. Roy 8 vo, pp. vi+56.

Of late, the newly started *Annals of Oriental Research* is doing much in the cause of bringing valuable unpublished works to light, and the present book is a worthy addition to the series already published. *Vyavahāraśiromaṇi* is a small treatise on titles of law and judicial procedure by Nārāyaṇa, a disciple of Vijñāneśvara, the celebrated author of the well-known *Mitākṣarā* which is a standard work and source book of the Hindu Law as administered by the British Courts. It is primarily meant as a handbook for the uninitiated. The author generally follows Vijñāneśvara, excepting at one place where he specincally criticises his views (pp. 49-50). Unfortunately, the only available MS. of the work is incomplete, breaking off abruptly after dealing with 12 out of the 18 topics of Vyavahāra, and after just beginning the important topic on partition.

Dr. CHINTAMANI is now well-known to Sanskritists as a painstaking and careful editor of Sanskrit works. The present book bears ample testimony of his good work. The editor has taken great pains in tracing all quotations to their sources, and has clearly specified those that could not be found in the available texts. At places (cf. pp. 3 n 5, 4, 5 n 4, 6, 9, 11, 21, 30, 36, 40 etc.), the editor has suggested better readings or corrected the corrupt text.

The preface deals with the date of the author, and the list of the authors and works mentioned in the book is given alphabetically. It would have been better had the editor explained the abbreviations, such as VM, SC, PM, used by him in the foot-notes. An alphabetical list of the ślokas would have facilitated reference.

With regard to the ślokas from Kātyāyana cited in the work which the editor could not find in the printed collection of Kātyāyana, I have traced three given on p. 7, in Prof. K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR's "Additional Verses of Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra" (*Kane Festschrift*, p. 8) where they appear as Nos. 8-10. Systematic and diligent work on the same lines in connection with the hitherto unexplored treatises will, no doubt, result in locating the remaining stanzas from Kātyāyana and will bring out additional stanzas also. It is a bit curious that whereas Prof. KANE (*History of Dharmasāstra*, I, p. 293) states that the MS. uses the form Kauṭalya, we find in the present book the form Kauṭilya (p. 29), though both had the same MS.

The printing and paper are good and there are practically no printer's mistakes. The University of Madras deserves all praise for making available this handbook on Hindu Law to the public, and the learned editor, Dr. T. R. CHINTAMANI, for executing his work quite creditably.

A. D. PUSALKER

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*Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā* with *Sarvatobhadra of Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha*, edited by Dr. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D. ; published by the Madras University (M. U. S. S., No. 14), pp. lxiii+524. Price Rs. 5/4/-.

Recently the problem of the Kashmere Recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* has been a bone of contention with Indological scholars. Savants like Dr. SCHRADER and BELVELKAR and others have participated in the controversy.

The problem may be briefly stated : the *Gītā* as commented on by Śaṅkara and by the later non-Kashmerian writers contains 700 verses, while the *Gītā* as



found in the Kashmerian MSS. contains 745 verses. The Mahābhārata—Bhīṣmaparvan has 1½ verses, which also support the Kashmerian MSS. The verses declare that the *Gītā* is composed of 745 verses and that so many verses are spoken by Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and others. So we have to decide what the original extent of the *Gītā* is, and whether the *Gītā* as commented by Saṅkara i.e. the traditional text is the original one or the Kashmerian text, the original one.

SCHRADER has discussed this problem in a learned paper, named "Kashmere Recension of the *Bhagavadgītā*", and has come to the conclusion that we should postulate two recensions of the *Gītā*, one of them, being the Kashmerian one. He at the same time admits that the philosophical tenets found in the Kashmerian text do not differ materially from the traditional text.

BELVELKAR, who is editing the Bhīṣmaparvan has also reviewed the position arrived at by SCHRADER, in an exhaustive manner with the help of various collated MSS., in a paper in the *New Indian Antiquary*, July 1939, pp. 211-251. He concludes after a long survey that there is no ground for postulating a different recension of the *Gītā* and he adds that the so-called Kashmerian Recension may be a version with some variants—nothing more than that.

The book under review gives a fresh impetus to the discussion of the above problem. The text of the book is based on five Kashmerian MSS. of the commentary of Rāmakaṇṭha. The learned editor Dr. CHINTAMANI has reviewed the whole position in a detailed introduction. He has criticised the views of both the scholars but has left the question open. Says he: "It is only future research that should solve the problem of the extent of the *Bhagavadgītā*."

The introduction is full of information about Kashmerian commentators of the *Gītā* like Vasugupta, Anandavardhana, Bhāskara etc. We also get a brief account of the personal history and date of Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha. Rāmakaṇṭha reads the doctrine of *Jñānakarmasamuccaya* in the *Gītā* as propounded by his predecessors.

The book also contains two indices and the comparison of the various readings found in the *Gītā* texts of Kashmerian writers is interesting.

The printing and get up of the book is excellent and the price moderate. Every Indological library should possess, we believe, a copy of this book.

PRABHUDAS C. SHAH

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*Woolner Commemoration Volume*. Edited by Mohmmad SHAFI, M.A. (Meherchand Lachhman Das Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Volume Eight), Lahore, 1940. Super-royal, pp. xxiii-ii-328. Price Rs. 30/- (or Sh. 45/-).

A glance over the list of some fifty and more European, American and Indian contributors, meeting therein many a name known for the thorough devotion to Indological Studies, reveals the wide range of collaboration that has been secured in the preparation of this Volume in memory of the Late Dr. A. C. WOOLNER; and it is an eloquent index to the respect in which he was held by his friends and fellow-savants all the world over. A roughly-made classification of the articles under the broad heads of historical, epigraphical, artistic, philological, linguistic, religio-philosophical and literary-historical easily indicates the varied nature of the contents with which one's scholarly thirst can be quenched to satisfaction. The pre-fixed biographical sketches illuminate various aspects of the life and activities of Dr. WOOLNER, who well-known for his contributions to Oriental learning, was as M. Jules BLOCH observes, "above all a teacher, a director of studies; not merely an administrator, but a careful organiser of the minds which he helped to mould, and a friend of young men who were under his charge".

The nice get-up and printing invite nothing by way of special remark, though the same cannot be said of the price, which seems rather out of proportion.

HARIVALLABH BHAYANI

*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, edited and translated by Shri Kanaiyalal Bhaishankar DAVE, published by Shri Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Price Rs. 2/- . In Gujarati.

We welcome this scholarly edition of an important *Purāṇa* which throws a flood of light on some hitherto obscure aspects of the history of Gujarat. Shri Kanaiyalal DAVE is already known to be a promising research-student of our history; he has, we are glad to note, fully kept up his reputation in the work under notice.

Shri DAVE has divided his study into three sections; the first contains a critical review of the *Purāṇa*, the second the historical facts gleaned from the *Purāṇa* and the third, the geographical evidences from the same text. After discussing the place of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, in the puranic literature as a whole, Shri DAVE summarises the subject-matter of all the eighteen Cantos of this *Purāṇa*. No point of interest has escaped the critical eye of our author. He has evaluated the historical and geographical allusions in the light of modern research.

The book also contains the text of the fifteenth and sixteenth cantos of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, with which is appended a Gujarati translation thereof. Three MSS were used, we are told, by Shri DAVE in editing the text.

The preface is written by Shri Durgashankar SHASTRI, one of our veteran scholars of history and comparative religion. As mentioned in the preface, the volume under notice is greatly helpful in ascertaining certain details of the history of Gujarat and as such its importance is enhanced by the fact that it is the only available work which gives the fullest description about the lake Sahasralinga built by Siddharajya Jayasinha.

Our author's intensive study and scholarship become evident on almost every page of the volume under notice. This is not to say that all its conclusions are to be accepted without reserve. Some points, for instance, the direction of the flow of the river Sarasvatī, the native place of Barbaraka, appear to me to need further investigations. We are however thankful to the author for his truly scholarly labours and congratulate him for his patient study.

HARILAL PANDYA

*The Jaina Vidyā*, edited by Dr. Banarasidas JAIN, M.A., PH.D., Krishna Nagar, Lahore, July 1941, Vol. I, No. 1. Quarterly. Annual Subscription : Rs. 5/-.

Vast literature is still lying hidden in various Bhāṇḍārs. The publications and periodicals are the only means to bring that lost literature to light. Many series and journals have been started with this purpose in view and they are being ably and enthusiastically conducted. Still the necessity of fresh and more vigorous attempts in this direction is there and the Journal under notice aims to meet it to some extent.

It must be admitted that in point of originality and scholarship, no Jaina Journal of research has reached such a high watermark as the now defunct *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhakā* edited by Shri Jinavijayaji MUNI. The *Jaina Antiquary*, *Jaina Gazette*, *Anekānta* and *Jaina Satya Prakāsha* are trying their utmost to come up

to that high standard. Let us hope that the *Jaina Vidyā* also may come to occupy the same rank.

As articles in English, Hindi and Gujarati are invited for publication in this quarterly, it caters for the literary need of every section of the society. Looking to the wide range of the subjects of the first number, it gives a fair promise of success. It opens with "ourselves" in which the Editor sets forth his plea for bringing it into existence. Articles of Shri GHATGE, DESAI, GODE and DOSHI are interesting and informative. JAGAN NATH's short article deserves special notice. The contribution of the well-known Jain monks whose active co-operation was till now not so markedly obtained by any periodical is its attractive and distinguishing feature. This class, with a few outstanding exceptions, is a bit indifferent, by temperament and education, towards research-mindedness. I surely believe that the attempt would be amply rewarded even if the spirit of research is engendered by it in this orthodox section. Considerable service can be rendered to the society if their traditional equipment be ingeniously yoked by a tactful editor to the research spirit.

In conclusion, we take this opportunity of congratulating Dr. Banāraśi Das JAIN, the learned and experienced Editor, for the conception and production of this Journal.

A. S. GOPANI

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## NOTES OF THE BHAVAN

[IN this section a connected account of the activities of the various Departments of the BHAVAN will be given in each issue of the JOURNAL.—ED.]

SIXTH SESSION (June 1941 to October 1941).

We are glad to announce that one of our staff members Shri A. D. PUSALKER has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Bombay. Dr. PUSALKER'S thesis, *Bhāsa—A Study*, has already been published as Vol. VII in the Meherchand Lachman Das Sanskrit and Prakrit Series. Whilst congratulating Dr. PUSALKER on his success, the Executive Committee of the Bhavan has raised him to the Professor's grade and rank.

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During the current session the following new appointments have been made :

- (i) Shri Harivallabh C. BHAYANI, M.A., as Fellow in the department of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology.
- (ii) Shri Prabhudas C. SHAH, M.A., as Fellow in the department of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology.
- (iii) Shri Harilal G. PANDYA, M.A., as Shri Narmad Research Fellow in the department of Gujarati.
- (iv) Shri Mohanlal V. SUCHAK, B.A., as Scholar in the department of Gujarati.
- (v) Shri Lalitkant U. DALAL, B.A., as Scholar in the department of Gujarati.

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During the current session also several staff-members, Dr. PATEL, Dr. PUSALKER, Shri GOPANI and Shri GYANI continued to conduct Post-Graduate classes respectively in Sanskrit, Dharma-Sāstra, Ardhha-Māgadhi texts and Ancient Indian Culture, under the auspices of the University of Bombay.

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The sixth series of the *Extension Lectures on Indian Culture* was conducted as usual during the session as mentioned below :

Date	Lecturer	Subject
August 11, 1941	Shri A. S. GOPANI	"Riṣṭas and Durgadeva's Riṣṭa-samuccaya."
August 18, 1941	Shri S. D. GYANI	"Political History of India before the Mahābhārata war."
August 25, 1941	Shri H. G. PANDYA	"ସଂକରାଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଓ ମନ୍ଦାନାମିରା"
September 1, 1941	Shri D. K. SHASTRI	"Sāṅkarācārya and Maṇḍanamiśra."
September 8, 1941	Dr. A. D. PUSALKER	"Indus Civilization (Cultural)."
September 15, 1941	Shri P. C. SHAH	"Origin and Development of Sāṅkhya Philosophy."
September 22, 1941	Dr. Manilal PATEL	"Brāhman in the Ṛgveda."

We have already announced in the previous *Notes* the several research undertakings begun by our staff-members. Our new Fellows have taken up the under-mentioned subjects of research with a view to preparing thesis for the Ph. D. degree.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject of theses</i>
1. Shri H. C. BHAYANI	"A Few Important Apabhramśa Texts of the 10th, 11th and 12th Cent. A.D."
2. Shri P. C. SHAH	"Translation and critical study of Vijñānabhikṣu's Yogavārttika."
3. Shri H. G. PANDYA	"Shri K. M. Munshi—A Literary Study."

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We have the greatest pleasure in announcing that the New Buildings of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN and Shri HEMACHANDRACHARYA MEMORIAL are now ready for occupation. The Opening Ceremony of the New Buildings is to be performed by Sir. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Kt., D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, on Sunday October 5, 1941. We are indeed grateful beyond words to him for acceding to our request in spite of his many pressing engagements. As this issue is expected to be out on the day of the Opening Ceremony, the detailed report of the above function will be given in the next one.

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We draw the attention of our reader to section (ii) in "Miscellanea", which gives details about the Fourteenth Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Sammelan. All our staff-members are extremely busy with various activities in connection with the forthcoming session, including the publication of four volumes of the *Sahitya Parishad Granthāvali*, about which an announcement was made in our previous *Notes*.

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All the departments of the BHAVAN are making steady progress as will be seen from the accompanying brief report prepared by the Secretaries for distribution on the auspicious occasion of the Opening Ceremony of the New Buildings.

# BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

Vol. III, Part II

May 1942

## CONTENTS

### ARTICLES :

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ .. .. .	S. RADHAKRISHNAN	109
THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS	K. M. MUNSHI	113
DATE OF MEGHAVIJAYAGANI'S COMMENTARY ON THE HASTASANJIVANA—BETWEEN A.D. 1680 and 1700	P. K. GODE	126
SŪKTABHAJAḤ AND HAVIRBHAJAḤ	H. G. NARAHARI	131
INDUS CIVILIZATION .. .. .	A. D. PUSALKER	140
PRE-MAHABHĀRATA SOLAR DYNASTY	D. R. MANKAD	160
THE CITY OF 'ALAKĀ' IN 'MEGHADŪTA'	S. N. VYAS	171
THE BOOK IN INDIA .. .. .	K. M. MUNSHI	175
MAHEŚVARASŪRI'S JÑĀNAPAÑCAMI KATHĪĀ—A STUDY	A. S. GOPANI	181
TWO LINGUISTIC NOTES ..	HARIVALLABH BHAYANI	186
BHĀRADVAJAS' HYMNS TO AGNI .. ..	MANILAL PATEL	191

### MISCELLANEA

I—OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE BHĀVAN .. .. .	201
II—GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD .. .. .	205

### IN MEMORIAM :

I—ACHARYA ANANDSHANKER DHURVA	K. M. MUNSHI	208
II—MAHADEV DESAI .. .. .	K. M. MUNSHI	209
III—MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. SIR GANGANATH JHA	M. P.	210
IV—CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN .. .. .	M. P.	211

REVIEWS : .. .. .	A. D. PUSALKER, MANILAL PATEL & A. S. GOPANI	212
-------------------	---	-----

NOTES OF THE BHĀVAN .. .. .	216
-----------------------------	-----

# PUBLICATIONS

---

The following works are *in the Press* for publication  
by the Bhavan.

तरुणप्रभ .. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>
उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण .. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>
RIGVEDA—MANDALA VI .. .. .	<i>Manilal Patel</i>
JACOBI'S ESSAYS ON THE APABHRAMSHA	<i>Manilal Patel</i>
RISHTASAMUCCAYA .. .. .	<i>Amritlal S. Gopani</i>
सन्देशरासक (An Apabhramsha Poem) .. .. .	<i>Jinavijayaji Muni</i>
BHĀSA—A STUDY .. .. .	<i>A. D. Pusalker</i>
भारतीय संस्कृति	<i>S. D. Gyani</i>
VAISHNAVISM : A HISTORICAL RETROS- PECT .. .. .	<i>Durgashanker K. Shastri assisted by Sushila Mehta</i>

The following are *under preparation*.

JNANAPANCAMIKATHA OF MAHESHVARA- SURI (10th cent. A.D.) .. .. .	<i>A. S. Gopani</i>
COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN THE PURANAS	<i>A. D. Pusalker</i>
BHAGAVATA PURANA—A CRITICAL STUDY	<i>Sushila Mehta</i>
INDIA AS REFLECTED IN THE PURANAS	<i>S. D. Gyani</i>
TAITTIRIYA BRAHMANA—ENGLISH TRANSLATION (FOR THE FIRST TIME) AND EXHAUSTIVE ANNOTATIONS ..	<i>Jayant N. Raval</i>
A FEW APABHRAMSHA TEXTS (of the 10th —12th Cents. A.D.) .. .. .	<i>Harivallabh Bhayani</i>
YOGA-VARTTIKA OF VIJNANABHIKSHU	<i>Prabbudas Ć. Shab</i>
MUNSHI—A LITERARY STUDY .. .. .	<i>Harilal G. Pandya</i>

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### BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A half-yearly Journal in English devoted to Indology in all its branches.

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*A monthly bulletin in Hindi dealing with Indian Culture.*

# BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



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Vol. III, Part II

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## BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ\*

*By*

Sir SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, KT., M.A., D.LITT.

It is a real happiness to me to be here and take part in the proceedings this evening. I am glad to have spent a little time at the meeting of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad of which the Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan is an off-shoot. It is gratifying that in such a short time you have been able to achieve some of your aims.

You have already done work in relation to Bhāratīya Vidyā by way of publishing research treatises and training students for post-graduate and doctorate courses. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to dwell at much length on the character and quality of Bhāratīya Vidyā.

There are some who believe that ideas do not govern history. They argue that it is not consciousness that affects existence, but existence that affects consciousness ; but this is not correct. In the beginning was the word and the word was made flesh. We require thought before action, philosophy before history, culture before civilisation. Civilisation is not to be confused with political arrangements, economic institutions or technical equipments. It is the spirit underlying them all ; the ideas and ideals which sustain these

\* Summary of Address delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Buildings of the BHARATĪYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN, on the 5th October, 1941.



institutions. Civilisation is essentially a movement of the spirit. Bhāratīya Vidyā is the underlying basis of Indian civilisation.

It has lived for nearly forty to fifty centuries. It has repelled attacks from within and without. It has met challenges from the Greeks, and the Mongols and the Europeans. It has seen civilisations like those of Egypt and Persia, Greece and Rome and some others disappear. It is still alive and functioning. It shows that it has a value which is not superseded by the limits of time or space, something imperishable, eternal, *sanātana*, a sustaining power which enables it to survive all attacks. It has the quality of *mṛtyuñjayatā*, deathlessness.

Why do we call a civilisation alive? When is it said to be functioning? It is alive when it is able to produce men of vision who from their own personal experience correct, confirm and enrich the heritage of the past. It is manifest that this country in every period of history and in every part from Kailas to Cape Comorin, from Puri to Dwaraka has been able to produce rare and chastened spirits who are great not by what they do, but by what they are, who have stamped infinity on the thought and life of the country. Their exquisite wisdom, their restraining self-possession, their spiritual sublimity indicate that the destiny of man is to know himself and work as an integral element of universal love.

What is knowledge? What is the self which we are called upon to know? There are many causes assigned for this war, primary, secondary and deeper and more remote ones. Some of us are inclined to trace it to Hitler's personal psychology, his evil genius or the injured pride and romanticism of a great people. Others may go a little behind and put it to the failure of the Disarmament Conference, or the League of Nations or the keen rivalry in the over-crowded field of colonial expansion. Still others may argue that it is the love of the perishable values of money, power and domination which is at the root of the present distress. I believe that the true cause lies in the defeat of the human by the material.

What is man?—is an ancient question. Is he merely a biological being? Is he an economic being controlled by the laws of supply and demand and economic conflicts? Is he a political animal whose mind is filled with a raw, excessive politicalism which displaces all knowledge, wisdom and religion? Has he another side to his nature, a spiritual, which cannot be satisfied by all that this world can give? Each of us has some fleeting moments—intermittent perhaps—of insight into another world to which we have to adjust ourselves. Occasionally perhaps each of us has had those moods of impersonal joy and sublime happiness where we do not walk on solid earth but on thin air, where our minds are filled with light and hearts are filled with infinite joy, where time, space and life are as still as death, where we touch the very limits of beatitude and are overwhelmed by the presence of a spiritual reality whose shadow is death and immortality. *Yasya chāyā amṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ*. If man has this spiritual bias, if these feelings for the eternal are an essential ingredient in his make up, the purpose of life and

civilisation is to help us to discover this side. The purpose of education is, to use the words of Plato, "To wheel the soul around, to see the one reality behind the many forms of existence, rather than its different manifestations."

*Yathā saumya ekena mṛtpāṇḍena sarvaṁ mṛṇmayam vijnātam syāt, vācāraṇi-bhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam mṛṭtiketyeva satyaṁ—Chānd, Up.*

To realise this one reality by piercing beneath the shadow of the life is the purpose of education.

Education aims at uplifting us into a higher life. Different people have defined it in different ways. Some look upon education as the means of adjusting the individual to the environment or fitting the individual into the economic system or training the individual to be a good citizen. All these are important, but the most important aim of education is to help us to see the other world to which we also belong, the world invisible and intangible, the world beyond space and time. Our citizenship is in Heaven. We have been born into the physical world of space and time. We must be fitted into a feeling of sonship in the Kingdom of Heaven. Education is to give us a second birth : *dvitīyaṁ janma*. This is not to impose on us an element which is foreign to our nature. It is to help us to realise what we have already in us. We are not trying to squeeze blood out of stone. The *Mahābhārata* says :

*Amṛtaṁ caiva mṛtyuśca dvayam dehe pratiṣṭhitam |*  
*Mṛtyur āpadyate mohāt satyenāpadyate amṛtam ||*

Both immortality and death are located in the heart of man. By the pursuit of world's glitter and infatuation, we pass into death and ashes. By the pursuit of truth we gain life eternal. To help us to pursue truth is the aim of all true education.

There are some today who feel it their duty to impose on us their own debased standards of truth. They look upon men as cattle to be driven or clay to be moulded. They make us do something strenuous, they reduce us to the level of performing animals and deprive us of our inward liberty and our true destiny. This sort of regimentation abolishes the distinction between men and animals.

But then it is not wise to declare hands off. It is not wise to deprive the young of leadership, of training and of guidance. It will lead us to stagnation, and men left in that position will prefer the tyranny of falsehoods to the anarchy of confusion. The true ideal of education is brought out in the *Bhagavad Gītā* where the teacher puts before the pupil all that he has to say and leaves it to him to make the final decision. *yathā icchasi tathā kuru*. To help the individual to see for himself, to help him to grow as a free man is the function of true education. Spirit can grow only in an atmosphere of freedom.

Freedom is a sort of portmanteau expression, a kind of holdall in which you can put anything you please. The Indian National Congress says it is fighting for Freedom in a non-violent way ; many of the workers feel that

they are fighting for freedom when they ask for higher wages or collective ownership or temple entry or widow remarriage or Prohibition.' Political freedom means liberation of one's country from external domination. Constitutional freedom means that we should be free from the tyranny of a class or a dictator, legal freedom means that there must be reliance on well-understood law, economic freedom means that every one should be free from the strain of poverty and economic pressure. These are all valuable, but they are only a means to an end. The true freedom is the freedom of the human spirit. There is a verse in the *Manusmṛiti* which says :

*Sarvabhūteṣu cātmānam sarvabhūtāni cātmanī |*  
*Samān paśyannātmamayāṁ vai svārājyaṁ adhigacchati ||*  
 (XII, 91)

The true *svārājya* is the freedom of the human spirit. The focus of the world is in the individual. Life is manifested in the individual. Truth is revealed to the individual. Life is experienced by the individual. Each individual must have the liberty to dream, adore and meditate. You can merge individuals into a group, but you cannot weld them into a single unit. All the great advances of history are due to the spirit of man. This unconquerable spirit which is the source of endless variety of form and expression, which is behind all man's strenuous endeavours, ambitions and achievements, which hoping, striving, failing still advances, gains ground pressing onward ; this active spirit of man is at the heart of human history. To damage it, to suppress it, is to make a man an inhuman being. *Ātmaābhāna param vidyate* says Āpastamba : What shall a man give in exchange for his soul? What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Everything in this world is a means to the realisation of the self.

*Ātmārthe pṛthivīm tyajet ||*

When once we recognise that there is this spark of spirit in the humblest of individuals we are driven to the acceptance of true democracy and human solidarity.

*Mātā me pārvatī devī*  
*Pitā devo mahēśvaraḥ |*  
*Bhrātāraḥ manujāḥ sarve*  
*Svadeśo bhuvanatrayam ||*

I do hope that the buildings which I have now the pleasure of declaring open may work for Bhāratīya Vidyā and through its work bring about a true renaissance of the human spirit and the liberation of man.

# THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

[Several years back, Shri K. M. MUNSHI selected "The Golden Age of the Imperial Guptas" as a subject for the Annual Address, which he delivered in Gujarati as President of the Sahitya Sansad. Since the topic dealt with in the address is also of interest to the non-Gujarati students of Ancient Indian History, we are giving below a free English rendering of some of the most important portions thereof. Evidently much of the beauty of the original, consisting of apt suggestiveness and felicitous phrases—in which Shri MUNSHI'S Gujarati prose characteristically abounds—will be missing in the English garb. But that is inevitable. The author, of course, does not claim this to be an attempt at research; he has tried to present a picture of the Golden Age, pieced together out of fragments discovered by scholars. Some of the details have been filled up by theories suggested by synchronisms.—EDITOR.]

## I

A VERY learned Brahmin, during the reign of Yajñaśrī Śatakarṇi, sat composing the *Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>1</sup> and felt despondent. Nāgas ruled in Cam-pāvatī and Mathurā; Ābhīras, Śūdras, Arbudas, and Mālavas—without Brahmanical culture like unto the Mlecchas—in Saurāṣṭra and Avantī; Śūdras, Vṛātyas and Mlecchas in Sind on the banks of the Candrabhāgā in Kuntīdeśa and in Kashmere. And he found them all without Brahmanical culture, untouched by religion or truth, contemptible children of wrath (*tivramanyavaḥ*).<sup>2</sup> Āryāvarta was thus no longer the land of *dharma*. There was nothing surprising that such bitterness should enter the heart of the author of the *Purāṇa*. For ages, men like him had dreamt of Āryāvarta, one and indivisible, and created it by sacrifice and service. They had believed Āryāvarta to be an eternal unit, bounded by seas and mountains.<sup>3</sup> With the aid of their religious literature they had seen the sacredness of the seven Ganges<sup>4</sup> in the waters of every village. They had believed their land well protected within the ramparts of seven great mountains.<sup>5</sup> They

1. The *Matsya Purāṇa* is said to have been composed in the reign of the Andhra King Yajñaśrī Śatakarṇi. Vide PARGITER: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, pp. xii, xiii, note 1; also p. 42, note 8.

2. *Vāyu* 99.382-88; *Brahmāṇḍa* 3. 74, 194-200; *Viṣṇu* 4.24, 18; also PARGITER: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 53-55.

3. *Manu* II, 22.

4. "गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।

नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु" ॥

as quoted in Jayachandra VIDYALAMKAR'S *Bhāratiya Itihāsa Ki Rūpa Rekḥā*, Vol. I, p. 102.

5. *Matsya* 114. 17-18.

had found the gates of salvation in seven sacred cities.<sup>6</sup> They had worshipped the seven great sages<sup>7</sup> as the architects of their life. They had inspired worshippers from all parts of the country to visit the sacred *iyotirlingas* and cultivate national consciousness. They had installed Yayāti, Bharata and Sagara, the traditional emperors<sup>8</sup>—*cakravartīs*—embodying the unity of the land. In trying to realise this ideal, Jarāsandha lost his life; Śrī Kṛṣṇa<sup>9</sup> realised and received veneration from all; but it was Candragupta and Kauṭilya<sup>10</sup> who achieved this ideal of unity almost perfectly. To the Aryan mind the supreme characteristic of his race was devotion to the sacred Brahmāvarta,<sup>11</sup> which *Atharva Veda*<sup>12</sup> beautifully describes as “the land where our forefathers had flourished and where the gods had vanquished the demons.”

The world must have appeared dark indeed to the author of the *Purāṇa*. In Magadha ruled a king by name *Viśvasphaṇī*.<sup>13</sup> In appearance like a eunuch, in battles a war-god, he destroyed his enemies and overturned thrones. He was an Arya, a devout worshipper of the gods, the manes and the Brahmins. Having established his rule, he resorted to the banks of the Ganges and performed penances leading to heaven.<sup>14</sup>

He was the morning-star heralding a bright dawn; but the author of the *Purāṇa* knew him not and thus his despair was boundless. Was not the world full of ‘worthless children of wrath’?

But immortal hope always comes out of the fire of despair. The seeds of the new world are sown when the old world is destroyed.

In the Gangetic valley, in Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha ruled a scion of the Gupta family. Though unknown to history by name, he was unlike the ‘worthless children of wrath’. History only records a Gupta queen of some King Vāsudeva, a Śrī Gupta<sup>15</sup> (Che-li-Kito), who built a home for Chinese pilgrims. It is, however, difficult to establish their connection with

#### 6. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काशी अवन्तिका ।

पुरी द्वारावती चैव, सप्तैते मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

as quoted in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 531, note 2.

7. Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha, are the seven sages. Vide *Vāyu*, Ch. 28, *Manu* I, 35.

8. PARGITER : *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, p. 39.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-284.

10. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 124-127.

11. *Manu*, II, 20.

12. यस्यां पूर्वे पूर्वजना विचकिरे ।

यस्यां देवा असुरानभ्यवर्तयन् ॥ AV. XII. 1, 5.

13. *Vāyu* 99, 373-382; also PARGITER : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 73.

14. *Brahmāṇḍa* 74, 186-193.

15. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 110; also FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, Vol. III, p. 8, note 3, pp. 8-9; also pp. 6-10—“महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य”.

the *Guptavamsāja* of the *Purāṇa*. This man was but a seed,—a small atom covered with the dust of obscurity. His son went by the name of Ghaṭotkaca Gupta,<sup>16</sup> again an atom whom the 'children of wrath' heeded not.

Ghaṭotkaca's son was called Candragupta :<sup>17</sup> perhaps a small chief who ruled from some petty palace in Pāṭaliputra, the Mauryan capital. His strength lay in his resolve and prowess, in his spirit of adventure, foresight and culture. A veritable atom he was, able and willing to create a new world. Determined to lay the foundations of the Golden Age, he married Kumāradevī, the Licchavī Princess,<sup>18</sup> accepting the Licchavī dominions in dowry. Their marriage united Magadha and their comradeship enabled them to destroy the 'children of wrath'. Candragupta apparently laid low the Kuśāna empire in the North, which was then tottering to its fall. He compelled Pravarasena, the son of Vindhyaśakti, the ruler of Central India, to give up his imperial dignity. He possibly crossed the Sindhu and defeated the Bāhlikas.<sup>19</sup>

The heroism of the royal couple must have been great, for it made one an emperor, *mahārājādhirāja* ; the other an empress, *mahādevī*.<sup>20</sup> The details have not come down to us, but in the little coin<sup>21</sup> struck by their son, Candragupta can still be seen giving the ring to his queen. In the inscription<sup>22</sup> which celebrates Samudragupta's and his son's and grandson's victories, we find the proud reference to the great ancestors in these terms : "He, who was the son of the Great Emperor Candragupta, the daughter's son of the Licchavis, born of the Great Empress Kumāradevī. . . ." Thus Candragupta and Kumāradevī, an immortal pair, standing out so gloriously in the dim, faded light of ill-preserved history, add a touch of unique romance to the past chronicles of this country.

## II

In the early decades of the fourth century of the Christian era, a son was born to them. The record of what happened on the birth of this child has been preserved for us by Kālidāsa, who is now generally accepted as having flourished in the reign of Candragupta II<sup>23</sup> and who based many of his descriptions on the events which were more or less within his direct knowledge. When he was born, "all the quarters of the earth smiled ; pleas-

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-10.—"महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचपुत्रस्य. . ."

17. *Ibid.* "महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य. . ."

18. *Ibid.* "लिच्छवीदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य. . ."

also SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 296.

19. *Vāyu*, 99.383, *Brahmaṇḍa* III. 74. 195 ; also Krishnasvami AIYANGAR : *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 47.

20. See notes 21, 22.

21. ALLAN : *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, pp. lxiv-lxviii.

22. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 8, 27, 48, 53.

23. KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 80.

ing breezes blew ; Fire accepted oblations by flames which pointed to the right ; everywhere the omens were auspicious. The births of such persons really make the world great."<sup>24</sup> When he grew up, the joy of Candragupta was unbounded. The father laid a commandment on the son to protect the Earth, stating that he alone was fit to do so. Jealous members of the family felt disappointed but the Court was happy with contentment. The far-seeing father knew when to acquire power and when to relinquish it. The well-deserving son proved himself worthy of his father's expectations.

At first, things were not so easy for the young king. The wrath of his enemies, like smouldering fire, burst into flames but he was adept in founding an empire. The king being new, everything took a fresh aspect. This warrior, with his army, 'reminded one of Bhagiratha who led the Ganges when she fell from the matted locks of Śaṅkara', and consolidated Āryāvarta.<sup>25</sup> He annexed the territories of many kings ; others were reduced to vassalage. He made alliances with several others, such as, the frontier kings of Assam, Nepal and Jallandhar, with Daivaputra—the Kuśāna kings of the western frontier ; with the Śāhī and the Śāhānuṣāhī—perhaps the Iranian Emperor Śāpur ; with Śaka and Murund ; and with Meghavarmā, the king of Ceylon.<sup>26</sup> These monarchs had besought his friendship 'by prayers, by gifts of maidens and a request for royal grants imprinted with the seal of the Eagle'. With the strength of his victorious arms he gave Āryāvarta the imperial unity which it lacked.<sup>27</sup>

The imagination of the Court-panegyrists was much exercised to describe his heroism. He became well-known as *vyāghraparākrama* (one with the valour of a tiger) ; as *aprativāryavīrya* (one with irresistible strength) ; as *parākramāditya* (sun of valour). He was accepted as *sarvarājocchettā* (the destroyer of all kings). He attained the dignity of *ajitārājajetājita* (the unconquerable conqueror) and of *kṛtāntaparaśu* (the axe of the god of Death).<sup>28</sup>

This king 'with the tiger's valour' can still be seen, on his coins, standing with his large proud head thrown back, his eyes flashing power, his broad muscular chest thrown out, with a lance or an axe in his hand in an attitude of defiance. He was gigantic in size. He wore large ear-rings, tight fitting trousers, armour cut very much like the modern frock-coat, and the Kuśāna cap.<sup>29</sup>

The 'Axe of Death', however, had not been a ruthless destroyer like Atilla or Changhis. He combined in himself terrible energy with great refinement. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and stamped his decrees with the eagle

24. *Raghuvamśa*, 3.14.

25. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 299-300.

26. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 7-8.

27. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 299-303.

28. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 6-10.

29. *Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, Plate XV, Coins nos. 6-12.

sacred to that god. He was 'well-versed in the Śāstras. His intellect was keen as that of Brhaspati, the teacher of gods. He knew how to enjoy life well and founded the city of Airikin for the purpose. In fine arts he was 'better than the traditional experts Tumburu and Nārada'. The lyre, as the coins testify, was his favourite instrument. He was the supporter of the learned. He composed poetry and attained the dignity of *kavirāja* (the king of poets). Heroism humbled itself to, and strength became inspired with, idealism. The wealth he gathered by conquest, he distributed to the deserving and patronized learning. His heart overflowed with compassion. He 'vowed to alleviate the lot of the humble, the hopeless and the needy'. He worked for 'the world's welfare'. 'Of irresistible might he, having conquered the Earth, conquered Heaven by his good deeds'. Āryāvarta which had become one by the strength of his arms became indivisible, by the Law which he upheld. He dropped the title of *parākramāditya* (the Sun of Valour) and assumed that of *dharmāditya* (the Sun of Religion).<sup>30</sup>

He was not merely a hero but the founder of the golden age. A pyramid of corpses, trumpet-note of victory, a passion for music or love for beautiful poetry do not each by itself or all of them together make the golden age. It cannot be created without an all-pervading ideal full of power and strength, and Samudragupta had mastered the art of realizing this ideal.

After three hundred years he revived the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) which traditional emperors had performed to celebrate their conquest of the world. In his coins, his Empress Datta Devī can still be seen standing with a *cāmara* in her hand near the noble horse which has just returned from victory. Her husband with 'the valour of a tiger' assumes the title of *aśva-medhaparākrama* (one whose valour is horse-sacrifice).

### III

Who was the teacher of Samudragupta?

From the fifth century A.D. down to the present times, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* is the one law-book which, though inferior to *Mānu Smṛti* in name, has been treated as its superior from a practical point of view, by authoritative commentaries like *Mitākṣarā*. The author of this *smṛti* was a sage from Mithilā and a contemporary of Samudragupta.<sup>31</sup> The riddle of this law-book is : whose was the sanction behind it. . . . The sage said : "Wealth given with faith, and according to time and place to the deserving is the root of all law."<sup>32</sup> To whom was this message given? *Yogindra* commanded "Go and teach this law in the land where the black antelope lives."<sup>33</sup> To whom was this said? If I may presume to offer a guess, it was Samudragupta, who spread the sacred law of Yājñavalkya. This author in

30. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 6-10.

31. KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 446.

32. *Yājñavalkya* I, 5.

33. *Ibid.*, I, 2.



embodying pre-existing law in a text-book made several important changes of a fundamental character. Its main characteristic was the efficacy of gifts, *dāna*, given not to all and sundry but to the apostles of culture, not as a donation but as an offering, not as a matter of condescension but in due humility. The sage commands :<sup>34</sup> "Those who are devoid of learning or of austerities should not accept gifts, for, if they do, the donor and the donee both fall." "The Brahmins are masters. Amongst them those performing the rituals are to be preferred ; and among the latter, the learned are to be considered of a still higher order"..... The sage lays down a further test. "He who is able to accept gifts but does not is equal in religious merit to the greatest donor.... Not learning alone, not austerities alone, but he who combines them both with rituals is the deserving..... Where four men versed in religion and three learned men meet, there is held the assembly. What this assembly lays down is the supreme law." Thus Yājñavalkya's gospel enunciates the fundamental rules by which the economic independence as well as the supremacy of the apostles of culture can best be maintained.

It is really the apostles of culture who create, distribute and transvalue ideals. Without their influence life loses its nobility, actions their inspiration. Law and culture are supreme and free only to the extent to which their apostles can acquire and maintain an independent and self-reliant position in society. The sage appraised these truths at their real worth, and in unmistakable terms laid down that he who served his ideals for money was not an apostle of culture. He classed the man who taught for remuneration with the impotent, the kidnapper of maidens and the back-biter. The independence and the supremacy of the cultured has been the characteristic of triumphant Āryāvarta ; and that this has been so is principally due to the traditions of the Gupta times moulded and perhaps inspired by Samudragupta.

#### IV

The author of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* makes another change of far-reaching importance. *R̥gveda* contemplated marriage in which the bride was fit to be a friend of the husband.<sup>35</sup> *Gṛhya Sūtras* enjoined marriage with an adult bride. *Manu Smṛti*, which on best authorities must have been composed in its present form about 300 A.D., permits the girl<sup>36</sup> to select a husband for herself if her father does not marry her for three years after she attains puberty. Further, it commands the father to keep her unmarried for life rather than marry her to a man without qualifications. A century passed and Yājñavalkya, in about 400 A.D., insisted upon the marriage of a child bride. "To allow a girl to remain unmarried", says Yājñavalkya, "after she attains puberty is as sinful as the destruction of a foetus every

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34. *Ibid.*, I, 199-200. 35. *Rv.* X, 85. 36. *Manu* IX, 90.

month". Further he commands that the man who commits adultery with a woman of the higher caste should be sentenced to death.<sup>37</sup> Why were these changes made? Historians may not approve of the change wrought in this fashion but must try to discern the real motive behind it. With a whole continent full of men and women in different stages of culture, with foreigners spreading temptations on all sides, with a few cultured men, with but a very few cultured women, Yājñavalkya must have felt that to allow a single woman to go out of her world of culture would be to give a death-blow to the unity and indivisibility of Aryan Society. Child-marriage, unchanging devotion to the husband, destruction of the man who seduces a woman of higher culture,—those terrible commandments, given with a view to preserve the culture of the country, have enabled the Aryans to preserve to some extent the purity of the Aryan culture. And for hundreds of years, millions of fair soldiers have, in obedience to these commandments, walked into the battle of cultures raging in this unfortunate land, holding aloft the banner of Aryan culture. Though we may not approve of this scheme, we must at any rate try to understand it.

Up to this time, Sanskrit was a language of literature and law, of ritual and philosophy.<sup>38</sup> In some form or the other it was the mother-tongue of the cultured Aryans since the earliest times and was the principal vehicle for the expression of Aryan scriptures. Before Buddha, it was the repository of learning. It was spoken when Yāska, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana wrote grammars of Sanskrit. Patañjali clearly refers to it as the language of the *śiṣṭa*, the cultured, that is, those Brāhmins who were selfless and above temptations, who kept food just sufficient to be contained in one pot and who lived in Āryāvarta bounded by the Himālayas to the North, Pariyātrā to the South, Ādarśa to the West and Kālakavana to the East.<sup>39</sup> Early drama shows that in spite of Buddhism, the cultured used it invariably and that even the uncultured spoke its broken variety and understood it when spoken. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were composed to instruct and delight audiences not necessarily learned. About the second century of the Christian era, the influence of Sanskrit was clearly perceptible in royal inscriptions and grants. About 150 A.D., Rudradāman of Gujarat, the grandson of a foreigner, had his achievements inscribed in Sanskrit; and thus it became the official language of royal inscriptions.

But its apotheosis was achieved by the Guptas. It attained a unique position in the country. Without it education and good taste were unattainable. Without it stories lost their interest, language its purity, sensuousness its glamour, literature its beauty, knowledge its depth and scriptures their sanctity. Without it no one could attain the position of the cultured. Even the Jains and the Buddhists accepted it as the language of their religious

37. *Yājñavalkya* XXIV, 288; also *Manu* VIII, 366.

38. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 320.

39. *Mahābhāṣya* VI, 3, 109; also KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 10, 11.

books in spite of an authoritative opinion which favoured the Prakrits. Thus Sanskrit ceased to be merely a language of the cultured but became the verbal embodiment of Aryan Culture. In it and by it Āryāvarta was to remain one and indivisible till the end of time.

## V

About 380 A.D. Samudragupta died. His elder son was Rāmāgupta,<sup>40</sup> the younger Candragupta. The author of the famous Sanskrit drama, *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, had described the career of Rāmāgupta in a play called *Devicandraguptam* and some of its fragments have been recently found. According to what could be gathered of this play, he had a dramatic end. He was weak, selfish and mean. The enemy—perhaps the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena III of Gujerat—invaded his territory, and to save himself Rāmāgupta presented his queen Dhruva Devī to the conqueror. His younger brother, Candragupta, dressed in a woman's garb went to the conqueror in place of Dhruva Devī and killed him. He returned to Pāṭaliputra, feigned madness and later killed Rāmāgupta. Rāmāgupta is a disgrace to the great name of Samudragupta.

Candragupta then assumed sovereignty of Āryāvarta, married Dhruvasvāminī Devī and rooted out the *Kṣatrapas* of Gujerat between 380-388 A.D. Then like his father he started on a career of conquest.<sup>41</sup> He annexed Kathiawar, Gujerat and Malava to his kingdom and made Ujjain his capital. Perhaps he conquered Sind. He appears to have reigned till about 413 A.D. and during his reign occupied himself in consolidating his vast empire and giving stimulus to the cultural activities of his times.

Empress Dhruvasvāminī Devī, brilliant and able, governed a province for some time at Vaiśālī on behalf of their son, Govindagupta. The eldest son, Kumāragupta was married to Ananta Devī of Kuntaladeśa, and the daughter, Prabhāvatigupta was given to the Vākāṭaka king, Rudrasena. The latter was as proud of her august lineage as a son, for, later in life, as the queen-mother of her son, she proudly called herself the daughter of the king of kings, Devagupta. Nepal was also ruled by a member of the family.

Candragupta was as valorous as his illustrious father. From the coins he appears to be as powerful as and more imposing than his father. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu like his father. He dropped the emblem of the Eagle and adopted the all-destroying *cakra*, the other emblem of Viṣṇu. His father was *Vyāghraparākrama*, the Tiger-valour; he called himself *simhaviṅkrama*, the Lion-valour. He also adopted the title of *Vikramāditya*, *paramabhāgavata* (the Great Vaiṣṇava), *paramabhāṭārka* (the great Sun, among warriors) and *rājādhirājaṛṣi* (the Imperial Saint).<sup>42</sup> Years later, the proud daughter called him *Devagupta*, the godlike.

40. JBORS, Part XIV, p. 251; also Vasudeo UPADHYAYA : *Gupta Sāmrajya Kā Itihāsa, Prathama Khaṇḍa*, pp. 76-82.

41. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 306-308.

42. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, p. 25.

Many kings, like Bhoja of Ujjain, Jayadeva of Patan, and Hemu of Delhi, have in later times proudly adopted his name and chosen to imitate his deeds. Like the word 'Caesar' in European history, the words '*vikramāditya*' and '*paramabhāṭṭārka*' have been in Indian history coveted titles for conquerors. *Vikramāditya* has been immortalized by tradition, and has been woven in thousands of folklore stories, as the ideal King, as *Rājā Vikrama* described as surrounded by nine jewels of literary men, as the friend of *Kālidāsa*, as the brother of poet *Bhartṛhari* and the master of that elusive spirit *Vetāl*. His memory has been cherished with greater affection than has been the memory of Khalif Haroon in Moslem countries, of Charlemagne in Europe or of King Arthur in England.... Of late, research, busy in tracing his personality, has removed layer after layer which folklore has gathered round him, and we see to some extent the real *Vikramāditya*, more imposing, more lovable than his imaginary namesake known to the bards of the Middle Ages.

India never again witnessed the golden prime which it did during the reign of *Vikrama*. From the contemporaneous records<sup>43</sup> left by Chinese pilgrims, Vincent SMITH concludes that "India was never governed better than during his reign". With this we may agree. But when with the obvious intention of comparing the Eastern and Western methods of government, he adds "after the Oriental manner", we may differ with the historian's conclusion.<sup>44</sup>

## VI

*Kālidāsa* was the beautiful nightingale singing with 'full-throated ease' the glories of the spring-time. The loveliest product of this great age, he was heir to the highest traditions and the finest culture which *Āryāvarta* knew of. He was acquainted with every branch of learning known to that age. He had seen life from Kashmere to Kanchi and noted beauty in every form and shape. He was sentimental and yet never missed the practical point of view—a diplomat untouched by the meanness of the diplomatic world. A great poet and yet fit to be a friend of the Emperor and an ambassador to the King in *Kuntaladeśa*, he appears to have wonderfully co-ordinated the practical and the ideal and could preserve the balance between the romantic and the classic points of view. Beauty and sense of proportion, he could harmonize. His *Yoga*, poise, was unconquerable. An iridescent light of those joyous times, full of happiness and contentment came to be reflected in his immortal works. He saw before him the world made beautiful by the apostle of Aryan culture. The King, as he saw and depicted, was bold and noble, the just protector of the people as well as religion, a man of culture and taste. Men and women moved in the spheres appointed for them by

43. LEGGE : *Fahien's Travels*, Chs. XX, XXII, XXIV, XXX, also XXVI and XXVII.

44. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 315.

religion without conflict. Women were cultured, soft-hearted, affectionate and well-conducted. People as a whole were contented and well-protected ; the officials were well controlled ; the ascetics, chained to duties by strict discipline, followed their religious pursuits and laid down the canons of true culture. Sainly apostles of culture, like Kaṇva, majestic in their quiet greatness, inspired veneration all round. The whole atmosphere was refined and rhythmic. *Varṇāśrama* (the rule of castes and stages) was universal law. Memories of world-conquest and horse-sacrifice spread a powerful background behind everything. The ideal of love, always the noblest asset of any age, was born of purity and refinement and of dignified self-effacement, —the ideal, which has not been bettered in this country during the last fifteen hundred years.

Thus what Samudragupta created, what Vikramāditya perfected was immortalized by Kālidāsa.

## VII

About 413 A.D., when Candragupta Vikramāditya died, the golden age had reached its zenith. Thereafter, his son Kumārāgupta came to the throne. His reign was also one 'of ever-growing victory,' during which nothing appears to have disturbed the unity of Āryāvarta or the strength of government. He adopted the title of *mahendrāditya*, followed the footsteps of his grandfather in celebrating a horse-sacrifice and became well-known as the 'Great Indra of Horse-sacrifice' (*aśvamedhamahendra*).<sup>45</sup> He was a devotee of Kartikeya, the god of war, and took as his emblem the peacock sacred to that god.

About 455 A.D. when he was on his death-bed, foreign invaders came knocking at the doors of India.<sup>46</sup> About that time large tribes, unparalleled in strength and cruelty were migrating from Central Asia to the West towards Europe and to the East towards India.

Gupta power seems to have been shaken but his son Skandagupta once more firmly established himself and earned the title of 'the one hero of the Gupta family'. He appears to have combined courage and statesmanship enduring all hardships. 'Sleeping even on ground',<sup>47</sup> he conquered the *Puṣyamitras* who were strong and rich and 'placed his left foot on the foot-stools in the shape of kings'.<sup>48</sup> The inscriptions describe his conquest thus :<sup>49</sup> "With his strength he conquered and placed his family fortunes, which had become unsteady after the death of his father, on a firm foundation. With tears of joy in his eyes, he went to his mother, as Kṛṣṇa to Devakī, saying 'I have won'." With an army he re-established his power.

45. *JRAS.*, Jan. 1889, pp. 103, 105, 110.

46. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 316, 317.

47. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 53, 54.

48. *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 327.

49. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 327.

He conquered the earth and showed compassion towards the vanquished. Though his fame grew, he was not proud. The bards by song and prayers sang the beauty of his character. As he fought the Huns, 'the world trembled'. The same story is reproduced on the rock at Girnār, about the year 456 A.D.<sup>50</sup> After this victory, the golden age began to decline.

Invasions of Huns followed in quick succession. About 450 A.D., Toramāna, the Hun King, conquered Persia and established his rule at Pavaiyā on the Bias. In 485 A.D., he assumed the title of *mahāājādhirāja*, apparently ruling at Malavā.<sup>51</sup> The Gupta Empire of Magadha was dissolved and the decline of the golden age stretched to a long period of a hundred and fifteen years, till the end of Śrī Harṣa's reign.

## . VIII

In this age literature, science and all forms of culture received extraordinary stimulus, no doubt due to the taste and generosity of the Gupta Emperors.

For several centuries, the *Pāñcatantra* had been sojourning in foreign lands.<sup>52</sup> The story of Kanakamañjarī had in Arabian climes assumed the shape of Sherazadi's *Arabian Nights*. Java and Cambodia pulsated with new life.<sup>53</sup> Exchange of culture was established between India on the one hand and Greece, Rome, Constantinople, Central Asia, and China on the other.<sup>54</sup> It is difficult to give, in a short article, an idea of the force and strength with which the creative ideals of literature and art of the period spread in all directions. The plays and poems of Kālidāsa show those forms of literature at their highest. Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* give an example of the prose of the period. Poetics and law were assiduously cultivated. Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Yājñavalkya, all of this period, are still recognized as high authorities in Hindu Law. Some scholars regard Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* to belong to this period.<sup>55</sup>

Philosophy can claim many eminent men of this period. The branches of *Sāṃkhya* and *Nyāya* clearly received great attention.<sup>56</sup>

*Suśruta*, a work on medicine, belonged to this period : BOWER's manuscripts<sup>57</sup> testify to the fact that the influence of Indian physicians had spread right up to the Eastern Turkestan. Mathematics and astronomy attracted some of the great scientists of the age. In 499 A.D., in Kusumapura, the

50. FLEET : *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, pp. 58-61.

51. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 335.

52. KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 357-359.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

54. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 335.

55. KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 458-462, 467-469.

56. R. G. BHANDARKAR : *A Peep into the Early History of India*, pp. 71-72.

57. KEITH : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 509, 510.

capital of the Guptas, Āryabhaṭṭa prepared his monumental works on mathematics. The *Romakasiddhānta* was composed probably as a result of Roman contact, and in 505 A.D., Lāṭa wrote a commentary on it. In about 550 A.D., Varāhamihira wrote his famous work, the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. Astrology, too, had reached its highest point of development. In architecture, sculpture and painting also, India attained a high level of technique and expression. The magnificent palaces and temples of the period have been destroyed by Mahomedan invaders but some specimen of their sculpture and painting still survive. Some of the fine paintings of Ajanta and Sigiriya (Ceylon) belong to this period.<sup>58</sup> These are but a few surviving lines of the ever-increasing eddies of culture which revolved with rapidity in this age. Perhaps there were many others, of which no trace is found to-day.

Kumāragupta appears to have founded the famous university of Nālanda. Hiuen Tsang, who visited India about one hundred and seventy five years late, recorded a description of it.<sup>59</sup> Ten thousand pupils, selected out of thousands, studied there. Foreign scholars came there to learn, to settle their doubts, to earn fame. About 1510 professors taught different subjects. Śilābhadrā, the greatest scholar of the age and the most redoubtable authority on *Yogaśāstra* was the Chancellor under whom the Chinese pilgrims studied. Six-storeyed *maṭhas* accommodated the students, whose expenses were borne by the University. Hundreds of villages provided the necessary funds. Though a Buddhistic university, it taught non-Buddhistic subjects, such as, the *Vedas*, etymology, medicine, the different schools of philosophy, astronomy and grammar. In the country, children were taught five lores. The learned spread culture from town to town. Every court had its official debates where the learned from all parts of the country congregated to prove their supremacy and to earn fame and patronage. Unfortunately, the pictures which survive are those of Buddhistic institutions and of a period when the golden age was on its decline. What must have been the activities of the Brāhmins whom the Gupta Emperors acknowledged as their preceptors, when the golden age was at its zenith, is a matter of conjecture. One lovely picture of an institution survives—the *āśrama* of Divākaramitra, described by the poet, Bāṇa.<sup>60</sup>

But the greatest educational force was that of the *Purāṇikas*. If the ancient apostles of culture created or strengthened any force in order to preserve the unity and indivisibility of Āryāvarta, it was the *Purāṇa*. It was, from Vedic times, considered the source of religion and culture, as the fifth *Veda*,<sup>61</sup> and the *Purāṇika*, with its assistance, educated the whole country. It is difficult to say what the early *Purāṇas* were like but there is no doubt that in the seventh or eighth century before Christ, some of them were recited in *Naimiṣāranya*, during the reign of Adhiśīma Kṛṣṇa. The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas* in their present form began to be composed about the

58. SMITH : *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, pp. 322-323.

59. SAMADDAR : *The Glories of Magadhā*, pp. 138-139, 142-143.

60. *Harṣacarita*, Ch. VIII.

61. *Vāyu*, 1. 18.

beginning of the golden age.<sup>62</sup> But need appears to have been felt for one comprehensive agency for the spread of culture. The Aryans growing powerful everyday made a great effort to teach to the people, historic continuity, the deeds of their ancestors, the nature of their civilization, the canons of general conduct and the principles of higher knowledge, and gave final shape to the *Mahābhārata*. In that age, the *Mahābhārata* had already acquired a unique position in religious literature under the name of *Śatasāhasī Samhitā*, 'the scripture with a lac of verses'.<sup>63</sup> "The essence of the four *Vedas* permeated it. When the gods first weighed it, it was found weightier than the *Vedas* themselves".

This great work incarnates the majesty of the Aryan life in all its aspects. Beautiful stories and interesting fables, moral tales and wise sayings, the fundamentals of law and civilization; attempts to co-ordinate all the activities of culture and ethics; efforts to popularize principles which made the golden age and great epic records in which heroic men and women exhibited the elemental greatness of manhood were incorporated in it. It was an effort to inspire action by stirring appeals, immortalizing the proud and joyous manhood of the age. The *Mahābhārata* is a great poem of a very great culture; it has worked and can yet work the miracle of keeping Āryāvarta one. For Aryans, it is the Book of Life; rejuvenating the aged, reviving the dead, organizing the disorganized, making heroes of men. Really as the *Ādi-parvan* said, "what is not there, is to be found nowhere else."<sup>64</sup> This book created the ideal of perfect manhood which was shaping in Aryan minds for ages. From the verses of this scripture steps out, as Lakṣmī came out of the waves of the sea, the figure which neither the past had seen, nor the future hopes to see, of one aflame with the splendourous strength and culture of the golden age who could appeal to all hearts: of him, who in order to destroy the wicked and to establish the Eternal Law gave to successive generations the immortal message of life "without hope, without self, unaffected by delusions, do then fight on";—of him, who has enthroned himself in the hearts of men as the noblest embodiment of triumphant Āryāvarta, one and indivisible.

The author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* while recording the life-story of this 'best of men' thus expresses the eternal prayer of the Aryan heart: "Even the gods sing thus; blessed are the men who live in the land of Bharata, like unto the high road to Heaven and to liberation, for they are higher than gods themselves."<sup>65</sup>

62. PARGITER: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. vii, viii.

63. *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi Parva*, 62. 14.

64. *Ibid.*, 62. 53.

65. *Viṣṇu*, II, 3.24.



# DATE OF MEGHAVIJAYAGANI'S COMMENTARY ON THE HASTASAÑJIVANA—BETWEEN A.D. 1680 AND 1700

By

Professor P. K. GODE, M.A.

AUFRECHT makes the following entries in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding the MSS. of a work on palmistry called हस्तसंजीवनी :—

CCI, 765— “हस्तसंजीवनी palmistry, by a Jainācārya.

L. 1514<sup>1</sup>. Bik 296<sup>2</sup>”.

CCII, 236—“हस्तसंजीवनी palmistry, Ulwar<sup>3</sup> 2028.

Extr. 604. Com. by Meghavijayagani<sup>4</sup> ibid.”

The description of the Ulwar MS. of the *Hastasañjivana* given by PETERSON creates an impression that the text of the work is written by one Jain author while the commentary has been written by Meghavijayagani. In the colophon of the Ulwar MS the name of this commentary is recorded as “सामुद्रिकलहरी”. In a MS. of the *Hastasañjivana* recently acquired by the B. O. R. Institute we find the following elaborate colophon :—

1. Vide pp. 106-107. of *Notices* by Rajendralal MITRA. The MS of हस्तसंजीवनी described by MITRA contains 390 ślokas. It is described as “भाष्यसहित” and of unknown authorship. It is said to be a work on “palmistry and divination.” It begins with “श्रीशंखेश्वरपार्श्व प्रणमन् ध्यायंस्तमेव वृजिनवृषभे” etc. and ends as follows :— “इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने हस्तस्पर्शनाधिकारः सम्पूर्णः”

2. Vide p. 296 of R. MITRA's *Notices of Bikaner MSS* (1880)—MS No. 637—हस्तसंजीवनी. This MS begins with verse 2 of L. 1514 viz. “श्रीनाभेयः प्रभुर्जीयात् etc.”. It is described as a work of a Jainācārya.

3. Vide p. 86 of Peterson's *Catalogue of Ulwar MSS* (1892)—“2028. *Hastasañjivani* by a Jain writer L. 1514, Bik. p. 296, with the Commentary of Meghavijayagani. This is probably the author of Candraprabhā, a Commentary on Hemacandra's *Sabdānuśāsana* (1701)”. In Extract No. 604 the MS begins :—

“ॐ नमः सिद्धमहंते ध्यायन्निति कृतांजलिः । हस्तसंजीवनव्याख्यां कुर्वे स्युत्वा गुरोर्गिरम् ॥  
तत्रादौ.....मंगलमाह ॥ श्री शंखेश्वरपार्श्वमिति ॥

The MS ends :—“इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवनव्याख्यायां सामुद्रिकलहर्ष्या ॥ महोपाध्यायश्रीमेषविजय गणिविरचितायां द्वितीयः स्वर्णाधिकारः संपूर्णः ॥”

4. CCI, 466—“मेषविजय, a Jain author wrote in 1701 : *Candraprabhā*, a Comm. on Hemacandra's *Sabdānuśāsana*” (See PETERSON 3.201 for *Candraprabhā*).

CCI, 793—“मेषविजय read 1669 instead of 1701”.

[On p. 56 of *Cata. of Ujjain MSS*, (1936) we find a MS of हस्तसंजीवनी विद्या by मेषविजयगणक copied in Śaka 1756=A.D. 1834. The MS contains 56 leaves].

Last Folio 20—

“ एवं यद्गुहसंमतं तदुदितं वामेपि रेखाफलं  
 सर्वं चाप्यनया दिशैव सुधिया ध्येयं विधेयं धिया ।  
 औनत्यं समुदेति मेघविजयं यस्मादकस्माद्धियां  
 नित्याभ्यासवशेन लभ्यमसकृत्तल्लक्षणां न्वीक्षणात् ॥ ८२ ॥  
 इति वामहस्तरेखाविशेषधृत्योध्यायः ॥  
 श्रीसामुद्रिकभावमद्भुतरसं गंभीरमध्यासितं  
 नानाकारमहायथेभासुरमणिज्योतिर्भिरुद्भासितम् ।  
 साकल्येन परिगृहीतुमचिरात् व्यक्तानशक्ता जना-  
 स्तद्ब्रह्माहितजीवनेन सहितास्ते संतु सुधाशयाः ॥  
 किंचिच्छास्त्रसमीक्षणाद्गुरुमुखादन्वीक्षणात्तल्लक्षणा-  
 भ्यासादत्र समुचितं समुचितं ज्ञेयं मया बाढ्यये ।  
 तदूष्यं विदुषा न किंतु सुधिया संभावनीयं करे  
 यस्मान्निर्मलतामुपैति सकलं शास्त्रं सतां संप्रहात् ॥ ८४ ॥  
 गृहे वृष्टिस्तस्य स्फुरति कनकैर्मैघविजया-  
 द्वित्वापः पाणिप्रहणविधिमीक्षेत निपुणः ।  
 समुद्रादुद्भूता सदवयवसवधमधुरा  
 महालक्ष्मीः पाणिप्रहणमुदिता तेन रमते ॥ ८५ ॥  
 प्रेष्यस्तया गच्छ नृपालचक्रिण-  
 श्वके गुरोः श्रीविजयप्रभप्रभोः ।  
 शिष्यः कृपालोर्विजयस्य धीमतः  
 शास्त्रं समेधाद्विजयाद्यवाचकः ॥ ८६ ॥  
 अनुष्टुभां सपादात्र ज्ञेया पंचशती<sup>५</sup> ध्रुवं ।  
 प्रंथे सतां प्रसादाच्च श्रेयः श्रीरस्तु शाश्वती ॥ ८७ ॥  
 इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धिज्ञानशास्त्रे महोपाध्याय-  
 श्रीमेघविजयगणकविरचितं हस्तसंजीवनं संपूर्णं ॥  
 श्रीरस्तु ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

वाक्स्तयतास्तु ” (Here a line in Persian characters is recorded by the scribe).  
 The metaphor of मेघ (cloud) and वृष्टि (rain) in stanza 85 of the above  
 extract is also found in the following extract from folio 2 :—

सामुद्रिकोद्बोधपथो निपीय मेघो रसं वर्षति मृ...सुव्यां ।  
 समेघतां तेन सुखेन लोकः श्रीहस्तसंजीवनमेतदायम् ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धिज्ञाने शास्त्रपीठिका ॥ ”

Sometimes the verses are followed by a prose comment introduced by the words  
 “ भाष्य यथा ” which show that the MS. contains both the text and commentary.

5. The number of stanzas in the MS is about 500 excluding the prose com-  
 ment. These stanzas are not, however, all of them in *anushtubh* metre, some of them  
 being quotations from earlier works.

The question now arises : Is Meghavijaya the author of the *हस्तसंजीवन* as stated in the colophon “मेघविजयगणकविरचितं हस्तसंजीवनं” ? With a view to decide this question we must record some of the colophons in the body of the MS. These colophons<sup>6</sup> are as follows :—

*Folio 8*—“इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने तिथिवारनक्षत्रवेलादिवर्णगंधरसस्पर्शाकारादि हस्तस्वरूपवर्णनाधिकारः ॥ १ ॥

*Folio 11*—“इति ह (स्तसंजीवने) ह (स्त) स्पर्शनाधिकारः”

*Folio 19*—“इति हस्तसंजीवने रेखाविमर्शनं नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

*Folio 20*—“इति वामहस्तरेखाविशेषः (ष) श्रुतार्थोऽध्यायः”

These colophons though irregularly recorded in the MS. indicate that the work *Hastasañjivana* consists of 4 *adhyāyas* or *adhikāras*. Let us now record the works and authors referred to in the MS. These are as follows :—

- (1) नीतिशास्त्रविवेकविलासे, fol. 1 (Cf. CCI, 298—नीतिविलास and भीतिविवेक)
- (2) नष्टजातक, fol. 5,—(Vide CCI, 282)
- (3) भद्रा (बा ?) हुसंहिता, fol. 5
- (4) पवनजातक, fol. 5.
- (5) पद्मकोश, fol. 5 (Vide CCI, 212—ज्योतिष पद्मकोश and CCI, 321—पद्मकोश, पद्मकोशजातक)
- (6) मतांतरेण, fol. 5, 7, प्राच्यां मते (fol. 8), 16.
- (7) ज्योतिःशास्त्रे, fol. 8.
- (8) शैवसामुद्रिके, fol. 11, 19, 15 (दशमाध्याये), 17 (अष्टादशाध्याये)
- (9) विवेकविलासे, fol. 11, 15, 16, 18, 19.
- (10) प्रकरणकारः<sup>8</sup>, fol. 11, 15, 17, प्रकरणं, 12, 16, 17, 18, 14, 15 (प्रकरणमते),
- (11) हस्तबिंबकार, fol. 11, 15, 16.
- (12) भोजकृतसामुद्रिके fol. 16, 18 (भोजसामुद्रिके)<sup>9</sup>
- (13) जैनसामुद्रिके, fol. 16.

6. A MS of the *Hastasañjivana* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 1386 of 1886-92) has the following colophons :—*Folio 8*—

“इति हस्तसंजीवने तिथ्यादिहस्तस्वरूपवर्णनाधिकारः प्रथमः ॥”

*Last Folio 11*—“इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने हस्तस्पर्शनाधिकारः संपूर्णः ॥”

Evidently this MS is incomplete as it contains 2 *adhikāras* only.

7. Prof. H. D. VELANKAR mentions two works of the name विवेकविलास, one by भवसेनसूरि and the other by जिनदत्तसूरि of the Vayada Gaccha (Pub. at Ahmedabad 1898).

8. The quotations from प्रकरण or प्रकरणकार are all in Prakrit verses e.g. (Folio 17)—“प्रकरणकारस्त्वाह ॥

वरपउमसंखसखि अभदासण कुसुमछ जलकुंभ ॥

वसहगजछलचामरदामहयवज्जमच्चरेव ॥ ९३ ॥”

9. Compare सामुद्रिककण्ठाभरण (CCI, 711).

The foregoing names of works and authors introducing certain views or quotations pertain mostly to the science of palmistry as expounded by Jaina or non-Jaina writers. It is necessary to see if these works on palmistry are now represented by any extant MSS. in our Manuscript Libraries.

The MS. of the *Hastasañjivana* analysed above contains some chronological data which may help us to fix the chronological limits for the work. On folio 3 we find the following comment :—

“अत्र सुखावबोधाय किञ्चिद्वाप्यं य (था) सं । १७३७ शा १६०२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरे । आषाढ शुद्ध द्वितीयायां तिथौ । भृगुवासरे । पुष्यनक्षत्रे । श्रीसूर्योदयाद्वातघटीषु ७।० तत्समये । हस्तवीक्षणे प्राप्ता तृतीया तिथिः etc.”<sup>10</sup>

Folio 8—“अत्रोदाहरणं । सं. १७३७ वर्षे सुभिक्षनिर्णयाय यथाविधि कुमायांस्पृष्टो दक्षिणहस्तस्यानामिकायाः ॥ ” etc.

Folio 10 “भाष्यं । यथोदाहरणं । सं । १७३७ ॥ आषाढसित द्वितीयायां सममघटिसमये करे क्षणे तत्र औदयिकी द्वितीया ” etc.”

As the commentator Meghavijaya uniformly mentions *Samvat* 1737 (month of *Āṣāḍha*, *tiṭhi* 2 of *Sukla pakṣa*) I am inclined to think that our commentator composed his commentary most probably in the month of *Āṣāḍha* of *Samvat* 1737 or *Saka* 1602 (= A.D. 1680-81). At any rate it seems certain that the date of composition of the commentary lies in the year *Samvat* 1737 or after this year but not prior to A.D. 1680. Now let us see if this chronology of Meghavijaya's *bhāṣya* or commentary agrees with other known dates of his works<sup>11</sup> viz. A.D. 1660, 1671, 1691.

According to the *Jaina Granthāvalī*<sup>12</sup> Meghavijaya composed *Candra-prabhā ṭikā* in *Samvat* 1757 (= A.D. 1701) and *Hemakaumudī* in *Samvat* 1758 (= A.D. 1702).<sup>13</sup>

If these dates are correct, we may take it for certain that Meghavijaya-gaṇi's literary career<sup>14</sup> lies between A.D. 1650 and say 1705. It is thus possible

10. The date in this extract corresponds to *Friday, 18th June 1680* (Vide 162 of *Ind. Ephemeris* VI).

11. Vide p. 425 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR—Meghavijaya composed his *पञ्चाख्यानोद्धार* in *Samvat* 1716 (= A.D. 1660). (Vide KEITH'S *SL* 260).

Page 192—Meghavijaya composed *Devānandābhyaṣya* in *Samvat* 1727 (= A.D. 1671).

Page 193—Meghavijaya (pupil of कृपाविजय ) composed *Digvijaya-mahākāvya* (the life of विजयप्रभसूरि ) in *Samvat* 1747 (A.D. 1691).

12. *Jaina Granthāvalī* (Bombay, 1909) p. 78.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

14. Vide p. 192 of KRISHNAMACHARIAR'S *Classical Sans. Literature*—“Meghavijayagaṇi was a Jain monk. He was a pupil of Kṛpāvijaya and 5th in hierarchical descent from Hīravijaya. He was well versed in grammar, astronomy and logic and his writings on these branches of learning are now appreciated.” His works :—

- (1) सप्तसंधान, (2) देवानन्दाभ्युदय (A.D. 1671), (3) शान्तिनाथचरित, (4) मेघदूतसमस्यलेख,
- (5) दिग्विजय महाकाव्य (A.D. 1691); (6) युक्तिप्रबोध,

that he composed his commentary on the हस्तसंजीवन at least in A.D. 1680-81 or between, say, A.D. 1680 and 1705.

We have now to see if our Meghavijaya the author of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Hastāsāñjivana* is identical with his namesake, the author of works composed between A.D. 1650 and 1705.

In verse 86 of the colophon quoted above Meghavijaya calls himself the pupil of Kṛpāvijaya ( “ शिष्यः कृपालोर्विजयस्य धीमतः ” ). He also refers to विजयप्रभ in the same stanza. We have already seen that the दिग्विजयमहाकाव्य composed in A.D. 1691 by Meghavijaya is a life of Vijayaprabhasūri as stated by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar. It is, therefore, clear that our Meghavijaya, the commentator of the *Hastāsāñjivana* is identical with his namesake, the author of works composed in A.D. 1660, 1671, 1691, 1701 and 1702. It is also proved that our commentator the author of the सामुद्रिकलहरी commentary on the *Hastāsāñjivana* composed this commentary in A.D. 1680-81 or sometime thereafter but before A.D. 1705 or so. The question already raised by me in this paper regarding the identity of the author<sup>15</sup> of the *Hastāsāñjivana* with the author of the *Sāmudrikalaharī* commentary cannot be answered at present as I have no other complete MS. of both the text and commentary for examination and comparison.

[Vide p. 370 of Poleman's *Indic MSS in U.S.A.* 1938)—a MS of चतुर्थस्मरण with Comm. was copied by लक्ष्मीविजय pupil of मेघविजयगणि ]

Mr. M. D. Desai on pp. 188-190 of his जैन गूर्जर कविओ Vol. I, (1931, Bombay) supplies the following information about the Gujarati and Sanskrit works of Meghavijaya, the pupil of Kṛpāvijaya :—*Gujarati Works* : (1) विजयदेव निवांणरास, (2) पार्श्वनाथनाममाला (Samvat 1721 = A.D. 1665) ; *Sanskrit Works* : (1) देवानन्दाभ्युदयकाव्य. (Samvat 1727 = A.D. 1671) ; (2) मानुकाप्रासाद (Samvat 1747 = A.D. 1691) composed at धर्मनगर, (3) चन्द्रप्रभा व्याकरण (Samvat 1757 = A.D. 1701) composed at Agra ; (4) सप्तसंथान महाकाव्य (Samvat 1760 = A.D. 1704) with Tippiṇa ; (5) शांतिनाथचरित्र ; (6) तत्त्वगीता, (7) धर्मसंज्ञा, (8) युक्तिप्रबोधनाटक, (9) मेघदूतसमस्यालेख, (10) भक्तामरस्तोत्रश्रुति and (11) विजयदेवमाहात्म्यप्रयोगपरिस्फोटन.

15. Prof. VELANKAR in his *Jinaratnakośa* makes the following entries regarding this work :

(1) “ हस्तसंजीवन ” of Meghavijaya. See JG p. 363 f.n. Siddhajñāna is a part of this work BK. 1606 ; DB 46(18) ; Mitra IV. No. 1514 Pet. IV. No. 1386. PRA. 1518. Ulwar, ex. 604.”

(2) “ Tīkā by Meghavijaya Upādhyāya, Bk. 1600 PRA, 1518. Ulwar ex. 604.”

# SŪKTABHĀJAḤ AND HAVIRBHĀJAḤ

By

Shri H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

LESS known than the traditional method of classification of the Vedic gods into Terrestrial (*pṛthivīsthāna*), Atmospheric (*antarikṣasthāna*) and Celestial (*dyusthāna*), but nevertheless quite important, is the *rationale* which attempts to group them under *two* heads, those that receive hymn or praise (*sūkta* or *stuti*) and those that receive oblation (*havis*) or Soma ; the former method has been found to be fairly free from all "Fallacies of Division"<sup>1</sup> and has, as such, met with wide approval. Though it is usually associated with the name of Yāska, he cannot be regarded as its originator, for it is possible to see that it was known long before him and that his task has been only to systematize and regulate a method which existed before him. The RV. (I, 139. 11) thus speaks of eleven of the gods as living in Heaven, eleven on Earth and eleven in the waters (= air) ; the AV. (X, 9. 12) similarly classifies the gods into dwellers in Earth, Air and Heaven, but specifies no number of the gods that live in each sphere. The etymologists who lived long before Yāska believed<sup>2</sup> in the existence of only *three* deities, Agni on Earth, Vāyu or Indra in the Air, and Sūrya in Heaven. Each of these receives

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1. MACDONELL (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 19 ff.) points out that though it is possible to classify the gods in several other ways also, none of the methods are as satisfactory as Yāska's ; the attempt to classify the gods according to their relative greatness i.e., great, small, young and old, is a very doubtful test ; the *relative age of the mythological conception* fails as a satisfactory *fundamentum divisionis* because it is not possible to say with certainty how many gods beside *Dyaus* belong to the Indo-European period ; and the *stage of personification* represented by the various deities could be a successful basis for classification only if it were possible to draw a strict line of demarcation between one another. MACDONELL hence concludes that the classification open to the least objection is that suggested in the RV. itself and followed by its oldest commentator, Yāska. But one cannot help observing that even Yāska's method is not *entirely* satisfactory. The mention of gods and goddesses like *Savitṛ*, *Varuṇa*, *Yama*, *Uṣas*, and *Pṛthivī* in more than one group or in all of them shows beyond doubt that the *rationale* is not accurate and that is open to the "Fallacy of Cross Division". Several explanations are offered by Yāska and Durga, his commentator, to justify this recurrence, but the explanations do not justify the *rationale*, however much they may convince one of the necessity to include the name of a god or a goddess in more than one group. BLOOMFIELD (*Religion of the Veda*, p. 91 ff.) is conscious of this defect in Yāska's method, and hence expounds his own of *Transparent*, *Translucent* and *Opaque* gods ; but even his method suffers from being highly subjective in character.

2. *Nirukta*, VII, 5 ; they were influenced, perhaps, by passages like RV. (X, 158, 1) where *Sūrya* is requested to protect his devotees from Heaven, *Vāta* from Air, and *Agni* from the earthly regions ; cp. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

many appellations either on account of his super-eminence or according to differences of function, just as the same person may act in the 'capacities of the *hotṛ*, the *adhvaryu*, the *udgātṛ* and the *brahman*. Yāska does not consider it necessary to hold that the various gods are but different forms or manifestations of these three representative deities, but allows also the possibility that those forming each of the three groups may be allied in sphere (*samsthānaikatvam*) and functions (*sambhogaikatvam*). For the three representative deities mentioned before, there are also the respective shares and companions;<sup>3</sup> *Agni* has thus for his share this world, the morning libation, spring, the *gāyatrī* metre etc. ; he is jointly praised with *Indra*, *Soma*, *Varuṇa*, *Parjanya*, and the *Ṛtavaḥ* while *Indra* has for his companions *Agni*, *Soma*, *Varuṇa*, *Pūṣan*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Brahmaṇaspati*, *Parvata*, *Kutsa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Vāyu*, and *Āditya* with *Candramas*, *Vāyu* and *Sarivatsara*.

The *fundamentum divisionis* of the latter method which is at present taken up for consideration, cannot claim the same merit as the former. What strikes one at the very outset is that Yāska himself has not paid adequate attention to make the division perfect<sup>4</sup> ; he seems to be content with pointing out that while some Terrestrial gods are offered both praise and oblation, some receive only praise ; he mentions<sup>5</sup> only *four* of the Atmospheric gods as belonging to the latter category, though on closer examination it is possible to find more ; and as regards the Celestial deities, he mentions them all in a mess as though they all belong to one class, while it is easily seen that though the vast majority of them receive praise only, a good many are offered sacrificial food (*havis* or the libation of *Soma*).

Moreover, there are a good number of gods to whom only verses or half-verses are addressed, and a good number are mentioned only incidentally (*nīpātā*)<sup>6</sup> ; some are there whose name is announced by the seer at the time

3. For a description of this in detail, see *Nirukta*, VII, 8 ff.

4. The *Bṛhaddevatā* (VIII, 125 ff.) also makes an attempt at this classification and, on examination, the account given here seems to be as confused and inadequate as the one found in the *Nirukta*. The author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* himself seems to be well aware of this, for he says that no one who is not a seer can hope to know a *mantra* by direct perception :

*amukrāntā devatās sūktabhājo havirbhājaś cobhayathā nīpūtaiḥ |*  
*apyevam syād ubhayathānyathā vā na pratyakṣam anīṣer asti mantram ||*

For the classification of deities according to the *Bṛhaddevatā*, see *Appendix B*.

It should be of interest to note in this connection that *Mādhavabhaṭṭa* in his *Devatānukramaṇi* classifies the gods into Visible (*pratyakṣa*) and Invisible (*parokṣa*) ; the former are worshipped by visible rites, and to this group belong gods like *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Sūrya* ; *Sarasvatī*, *Manyu*, *Soma* and others belonging to the latter variety are offered worship by invisible rites and they are also hence invisible (*parokṣāḥ*) [*Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* of *Mādhavabhaṭṭa*, Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan RAJA, p. 55].

5. *Nirukta*, X, 42.

6. Cf. *Bṛhaddevatā*, I, 17 ; VIII, 129. Strictly speaking this cannot be an independent group, for it is quite possible that a deity which may be incidentally mentioned in one group may receive praise or offering when enumerated in another

of offering the oblation and some whose distinctive activities (*karma*) are praised. Yāska does not find it necessary to make separate lists of all these kinds of gods.<sup>7</sup> He enlists all those appellations which have become conventional and with reference to which chief praise is addressed to the deity,<sup>8</sup> but all epithets alluding to the distinctive activity (*karma*) of a deity are omitted by him, because these are only indications of a particular aspect of the proper appellations. However convincing this reasoning of Yāska may be, all these anomalous instances do argue for the inefficacy of this *rationale* when used to classify the entire Vedic pantheon.

Nor is this the ambition of Yāska for he seems to be satisfied with the utility of this *fundamentum divisionis* in an attempt at a further sub-division of the gods, classified by him already under the three major heads, taking into account their individual location.

Of the *fifty-two* Terrestrial deities recorded in the *Nighaṇṭu* (Chap. V), Agni, the *thirteen* beginning with *Draviṇodāh*, and *Agnāyī*, *Devī joṣṭrī*, and *Devī ūrjāhuti* receive both praise as well as oblation, but the remaining *thirty-three* beginning with *Aśva*<sup>9</sup> receive only praise (*stuti*) ; the Atmospheric deities mentioned<sup>10</sup> are *sixty-eight* in number and Yāska arranges them into three groups, single deities, groups of deities (*devaganāh*), and goddesses (*striyaḥ*) ; the single deities are *thirty-nine* in number ; there are *eight* groups of gods and there are *twenty-one* goddesses ; among the single deities, the following *eleven*, viz., Vena, Asuniti, Rta, Indu, Ahi, Ahirbudhnya, Suparna, Purūravas, Soma, Candramas and Dhātṛ, receive only praise (*stuti*) ; of the remaining *twenty-eight*, the first *twenty-three* beginning with *Vāyu* and ending with *Agni*, and *Prajāpati* receive both oblation and praise ; *Syena* and *Mṛtyu* receive the Soma libation ; *Viśvānara* is only another form of the Terrestrial god who receives both oblation and praise ; *Vidhātṛ* is mentioned only incidentally. Of the *eight* groups of deities (*devagana*), the first *seven* beginning with *Maruts* and ending with the *Bhṛgu*s receive only praise,<sup>11</sup> and the *Āptyas* are mentioned only incidentally ; of the *twenty-one* goddesses, *Sarasvatī*,<sup>12</sup> *Sinivālī* and *Kuhū*, and *Indrāṇī*<sup>13</sup> receive oblation and Soma res-

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group. Thus though *Pythivī* is incidentally mentioned among celestial gods, as an atmospheric deity, she receives offering (see Appendix A).

7. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 71 for the same view.

8. The same view is reiterated in *Bṛhaddevatā*, I, 86-88.

9. Among these *Nārāśansa* is mentioned in the previous group as receiving *havis* also.

10. *Nighaṇṭu*, Chap. V.

11. This is according to the description given by Yāska in his *Nirukta* ; but from descriptions of these gods found elsewhere in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, it is seen that they all receive *soma* and oblation accompanied by the call *svadhā*.

12. RV. I, 3, 10 which is cited by the *Nirukta* (XI, 26) as a typical address to *Sarasvatī* only asks her 'to like the sacrifice' (*yajñām vaṣṭu*) offered to her ; though the exact nature of the offering, i.e. *havis* or *soma*, is not clear, it is obvious that *Sarasvatī* receives some offering.

13. Though as an atmospheric deity, *Indrāṇī* is described by Yāska (*Nirukta*,



pectively, and *Ṛṥhivī* is only a form of the *Ṛṥhivī*, mentioned among the Terrestrial deities as a receiver of praise (*stuti*) only; the remaining sixteen receive only praise (*stuti*).

Regarding the *Celestial* deities who are *thirty-one* in number<sup>14</sup>, Yāska by himself makes no distinctions among them; but it does not follow from that that they are all uniform in character; a good many of them are already mentioned in the earlier groups; some of them drink Soma in place of oblation, some get both and some are mentioned only incidentally.

*Tvaṣṭṛ*,<sup>15</sup> *Viśvānara*<sup>16</sup> and *Ṛṥhivī*<sup>17</sup> are mentioned as existing in all the three regions; *Uṣas*, by herself, is both a Celestial and an Atmospheric deity and, when coupled with *Naktā* (Night) is a Terrestrial deity also;<sup>18</sup> *Agni* is both Terrestrial and Atmospheric, while *Savitṛ*, *Varuṇa*, *Yama* and *Atharvan* are both Celestial and Atmospheric,<sup>19</sup> and among the wives of the gods (*devapatnyah*) mentioned in the list of the Celestial deities, *Agnāyī* is mentioned earlier as a Terrestrial deity and *Indrāṇī* and *Rodasī* as Atmospheric deities; also, while the *Ādityas* receive oblation, the *Āśvins*, the *Viśvedevāḥ*, *Yama* and *Devapatnyah* receive *soma*, and the *Vasus* get both oblation and *soma*; *Avaṣṭṛ*, *Viśvānara*, *Aja Ekapād*, *Ṛṥhivī*, *Samudra*, *Atharvan*, *Manu* and *Dadhyaṇī* are mentioned incidentally; the remaining Celestial gods receive *praise* only.

So much for the classification of the Vedic deities in accordance with the nature of the offering they receive from their worshippers. A careful study of it reveals several individual characteristics which distinguish one deity or a group of them from the rest of the pantheon. Judging thus from the stand-point of location, it is easily understood that the atmospheric deities are superior in status to those belonging to the terrestrial region, and that the celestial deities are, in their turn, not only superior to those belonging to the atmospheric region, but also are the most dignified; the vast majority

XI, 37 ff.) as one who receives praise only, it is known from a verse elsewhere in the RV. (I, 22, 12) that she receives the soma libation.

14. *Nighaṇṭu*, loc. cit.

15. Among celestial gods, *Tvaṣṭṛ* is mentioned only incidentally, but in the other two planes he represents forms of *Agni* (*Nirukta*, VIII, 14 f.; X, 34; XII, 11).

16. In the celestial sphere, *Viśvānara* is incidental and in the other two spheres he means forms of *Agni* (*Nirukta*, VII, 31; XI, 9; XII, 21).

17. *Ṛṥhivī* in the celestial plane is only incidental (*Ibid.*, IX, 32; XI, 37; XII, 31).

18. *Uṣas* of the celestial plane is derived from √ *vaś* 'to desire', while she of the atmospheric plane is derived from √ *vas* 'to shine'; when coupled with *Naktā* in the terrestrial plane, she receives oblation also besides praise (*op. cit.*, VIII, 11; XI, 47 f.; XII, 5).

19. *Savitṛ* and *Varuṇa* represent the visible Sun when they are atmospheric, and the invisible aspect of him when on the celestial plane; as a celestial god, *Yama* gets *Soma* and *havis* only as an atmospheric god; *Atharvan* is incidentally mentioned among celestial gods (*op. cit.*, X, 32, 4 f.; XII, 12, 21 f.; X, 19; XII, 29, 33).

of these celestial deities receive, as can be noticed from the table at the end,<sup>20</sup> only praise; only a very small minority receives any offering, so that *receiving praise (stuti) only can be regarded as one of the qualifications of a superior deity*; also of the celestial deities that receive any offering, the majority of them take *soma*, while oblation (*havis*) is received by an almost negligible minority. *Receipt of soma instead of havis is hence another qualification of a superior deity.*

Now these canons will be of great help in understanding the difference in dignity on the one hand, between the several kinds of *manes* and the *gods*, and on the other hand, between the *gods* themselves, especially between those gods who are important in the study of the eschatological conceptions of the Vedic people.

Under the group of *manes* come the *Maruts*, the *Ṛbhus*, the *Angirases*, the *Pitṛs*, the *Atharvans* and the *Bhṛigus*, and perhaps the *Rudras* also on account of their close association with the *Maruts*. In the *Nirukta* these are all mentioned under groups of gods (*devagana*), but an examination<sup>21</sup> of their nature reveals that they are no more than *manes*, though superior to the ordinary class of them because of their special distinctions.

The *Maruts* are of dubious parentage; not merely are they called sons of Rudra (II, 33. 1),<sup>22</sup> or of Prṣṇi (I, 23. 10) or of Sindhu (X, 78. 6), but are also styled often as self-born (I, 168. 2). Very often they are called priests (V, 29. 3) or are compared with them (X, 78. 1), and one passage in the RV. (I, 85. 7) says that they obtained a dwelling in Heaven through their greatness (*tavas*). It is clear from these factors that their individual merit was responsible for their rise from priesthood to divinity.

Though originally mortals, the *Ṛbhus*, children of Manu,<sup>23</sup> acquired immortality by reason of their feats (III, 60. 3). They are also said to have mounted to Heaven (I, 110. 6) and to have obtained the friendship of the gods (IV, 36. 4), with the result that they are often even expressly invoked as gods (IV, 37. 1).

The *Angirases* derive their appellation from *Angiras*, one of the earliest ancestors of the Vedic people, who, by his special merit, achieved immortality.<sup>24</sup>

The *Pitṛs* are the virtuous ancestors of the Vedic seers whose virtuous life on earth allowed them to enter the Heaven of Yama for enjoyment in his company. The term can also be taken as generic, denoting all the varieties of ancestors, whether they are of superior merit or of merit which is only up to the mark, for we hear once that there are *three* varieties of these fathers (*pitaraḥ*), high, middle and low (X, 15. 1).

20. See Appendix A.

21. An examination in detail will be undertaken later.

22. Unless specified otherwise, citations like these in this paper refer only to the *Rgveda*.

23. They are also often called Sons of Sudhanvan (I, 110.4).

24. For a fuller account of the *Angirases*, see my paper *Devayāna and Pitṛ-yāna* in course of publication in the ABORI.

Along with the *Āṅgirasas*, *Navagvas* and the *Bhṛigus*, the *Atharvans* are also enumerated as fathers in one verse of the Ṛgveda (X, 14. 6). They are said to have established the order of sacrifices (X, 92. 10), and by the merit acquired by performance of feats like these they were able to be relatives of the gods (AV. IV, 1. 7) and to dwell in Heaven (AV. XI, 6. 13). Like the *Atharvans*, the *Bhṛigus* came to be esteemed as gods on demonstration of their skill (X, 92. 10).

This entire group of *manes* belongs to the atmospheric region (*madhya-sthāna*) and is hence lower in status to the gods of the celestial region, though superior to those belonging to the earthly region. Yāska's description of these makes one feel that they receive only praise (*stuti*), but from abundant descriptions of them found elsewhere in the Ṛgveda, it is obvious that they all receive *svadhā* and *soma* and that some of them even rejoice in the call *svāhā* like the gods (X, 14. 3). As a class, therefore, they must all be inferior to the celestial deities, particularly to those of them that receive *praise* only. A gradation among these fathers is made sometimes (X, 15. 1) and this distinction will also be obvious on application of the test to each one of the varieties to see whether they receive mere oblation or *soma* also.

According to the account given of *Yama* in the Veda, he is no more than the first mortal who after death found out the path for those that went after him (X, 14. 2). Naturally, *Yama* must hence be regarded as one among the fathers. The present test also proves that he is so. Like the other kinds of fathers, *Yama* also is a deity of the atmospheric region<sup>25</sup> and like them, he receives oblation (*svadhā*). True that his name is found also in the list of the celestial deities.<sup>26</sup> Yāska and *Durga* explain<sup>27</sup> this by saying that the atmospheric *Yama* refers to *Yama*, king of the dead, and that the celestial *Yama* is none else than the setting sun. Though Yāska and his commentator try to explain the obvious difficulty by accepting *two* *Yamas*, it is also possible to accept a *single* *Yama* and explain the phenomenon of his double occurrence by saying that the dual mention of *Yama*, among the atmospheric deities as well as among those belonging to the celestial region, is only to show that he is superior to the rest of the fathers (*pitarah*). That *Yama* should be a celestial god, at least in part, is proof enough that he is superior to the rest of the fathers who are essentially atmospheric. As the first of the mortals to find out the "path," as the king and assembler (*saṁgāmanam jānānām*)<sup>28</sup> of the dead in Heaven, *Yama* must certainly be supreme among those of his class, and the description that, in his celestial capacity, he drinks *soma*<sup>29</sup> is only another factor proving his superiority at least over the ordinary *manes* who receive only oblation (*havis*).

*Varuṇa* is described as the companion of *Yama* in the merriment of the latter in his Heaven (X, 14. 7), and it is gratifying to see that the appli-

25. See Appendix A.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Nirukta*, XII, 29 and *Durga's* commentary thereon.

28. X. 14. 1.

29. X. 135. 1; *Nirukta*, XII, 29.

cation of the present text shows Varuṇa to be possessed of all the privileges to which Yama is entitled. Like Yama, Varuṇa also is partially atmospheric and partially celestial,<sup>30</sup> and receives oblation (*havis*)<sup>31</sup> as a deity of the atmospheric region; but while Yama gets *soma* in his celestial capacity, Varuṇa then receives praise (*stuti*), and this is proof that the latter is superior in status even to the former. This fact is well-known for, in the whole of the R̥gveda, Yama is only called king (*rājā*) but never a god, while Varuṇa is honoured with the latter appellation also most frequently, especially when these two are mentioned together (*ubhā rājānā stadhīyā mādantā yamām paśyāsi varuṇaṁ ca devām*).<sup>32</sup>

The present text applied to Viṣṇu reveals him as the supreme deity in the Vedic pantheon, superior not only to the fathers (*pitaraḥ*) but also to *Yama* and *Varuṇa*; as one who lives essentially in the celestial plane, Viṣṇu is certainly higher in status than *Varuṇa* or *Yama* who are partially atmospheric also; and as one who receives praise (*stuti*) and nothing more, he is again superior to *Yama* who is entitled to no praise,<sup>33</sup> and to *Varuṇa* who, besides praise, receives oblation and a libation of *soma* also.

*Savitṛ*, *Pūṣan* and *Sūrya* are three more celestial deities who need be considered at present; the last two are described in their solar capacity and, like Viṣṇu, receive only praise. These can thus be regarded as on an equal footing with Viṣṇu. But though *Savitṛ* is solar in nature and receives praise only in his celestial capacity, as an atmospheric deity he receives oblation. Yāska and his commentator, Durga, explain<sup>34</sup> this dual personality of *Savitṛ* by saying that in his atmospheric and celestial capacities he represents respectively the visible and invisible aspects of the Sun. In point of status, therefore, *Savitṛ* is on a par with *Varuṇa*, though both these in their celestial character belong to the same category as *Viṣṇu* i.e. the solar group. Durga seems also to recognize this fact for, in explaining the dual aspect of both these divinities, the same explanation is offered by him in both cases.<sup>35</sup>

Also, *Indu*, *Soma* and *Candramāḥ* are three lunar deities belonging to the atmospheric region and they receive praise (*stuti*) only; and *Mṛtyu* another god of the same region receives the libation of *soma*. Can we see adumbrated in these data the later upaniṣadic idea of the Moon being the destination of ordinary mortals, an inferior destination as compared with the destination of those of superior merit who travel further by the bright solar path, never more to return to earth? Being an atmospheric deity entirely, the Moon, though superior to terrestrial deities, is without doubt inferior to *Viṣṇu*, *Sūrya* and other solar deities who belong to the celestial region; and if the connection of *Mṛtyu* (Death) with *Soma*, an aspect of

30. See Appendix A.

31. *Ibid.*

32. X, 14. 7 cd.

33. As a celestial god Yama gets *Soma*, while he gets *havis* only in the atmospheric plane (see *Supra*, note 19).

34. *Nirukta*, XII, 12 and *Durga's* gloss thereon.

35. Durga on *Nirukta*, XII, 12 and 21; Yāska also seems to hold the same view, but he has said nothing quite explicitly.

the Moon, could be understood also to mean the close relation between mortality and the Moon, we have here much of the material which found full formation and development later in the upaniṣadic period and went by the name of the *pitṛyāna* or the *dhūmamārga*, the path which belongs to those subject to recurrent birth and death and which terminates at the Moon, as contrasted with the *devayāna* or the *arcirādimārga*, the path which belongs to those that proceed further, never more return to their earthly home, and which is closely connected with the Sun. That the lunar deities *Indu*, *Soma*, and *Candramāh* should receive *praise* only like the solar deities, *Viṣṇu*, *Pūṣan* and *Sūrya*, should entitle the former also to be a destination for ordinary people at least even as the latter are for others who are of superior merit.<sup>36</sup>

Among the gods and manes noticed in the pages above, we can thus make the following distinction : *Viṣṇu*, *Pūṣan* and *Sūrya* are of the highest order, next come *Savitṛ* and *Varuṇa*, next *Yama*, next the *Rbhus*, *Maruts*, *Angirases*, *Atharvans*, *Bhṛgu*s and the *Rudras*, and lastly the fathers (*pitarah*) of ordinary merit ; and it should be highly refreshing to note that a study of some other characteristics also of these gods and manes forces us to arrive at the same distinction as has been posited now.

## APPENDIX A

*Sūktabhājah*, *Havirbhājah* and *Nipātabhājah* according to the *Nirukta*.

### I. SŪKTABHĀJAH

#### (a) *Terrestrial Deities (pṛthivīsthānadevatāḥ)*

Aśvaḥ, Śakuniḥ, Maṇḍūkāḥ, Akṣāḥ, Grāvāṇaḥ, Nārāsaṁsaḥ, Rathaḥ, Dundubhiḥ, Iṣudhiḥ, Hastaghnaḥ, Abhiśavaḥ, Dhanuḥ, Jyā, Iṣuḥ, Aśvājani, Ulūkhalam, Vṛṣabhaḥ, Drughaṇaḥ, Pituḥ, Nadyaḥ, Āpaḥ, Oṣadhayaḥ, Rātriḥ, Aranyāni, Śraddhā, Pṛthivī, Apvā, Ulūkhalamusale, Havirdhāne, Dyāvā-pṛthivī, Vipāt-śutudrī, Ārtiṇī, and Śunāsīrau (33).

#### (b) *Atmospheric Deities (Madhyasthānadevatāḥ)*

Venaḥ, Asunitiḥ, Ṛtaḥ, Induḥ, Ahiḥ, Ahirbudhyaḥ, Suparṇaḥ, Purū-ravāḥ, Somaḥ, Candramāḥ, Viśvānaraḥ, Dhātā, Marutaḥ, Rudrāḥ, Rbhavaḥ, Angirasaḥ, Pitarāḥ, Atharvāṇaḥ, Bhṛgavaḥ, Aditiḥ, Saramā, Vāk, Anumatiḥ, Rākā, Yamī, Ūrvaśī, Pṛthivī, Indrāṇī, Gaurī, Gauḥ, Dhenuḥ, Aghnyaḥ, Pathyā, Svastiḥ, Uṣāḥ, Iḷā and Rodasī (37).

#### (c) *Celestial Deities (Antarikṣasthānadevatāḥ)*

Uṣāḥ, Sūrya, Vṛṣākapyī, Saranyūḥ, Savitā, Bhagaḥ, Sūryaḥ, Pūṣā, Viṣṇuḥ, Varuṇaḥ, Keśī, Keśinaḥ, Vṛṣākapiḥ, Saptarṣayaḥ, Devāḥ, Sādhyāḥ, Vājinaḥ, Devapatnyaḥ (18).

36. For a full treatment of this subject, see my *Devayāna and Pitṛyāna* mentioned above.

## II. HAVIRBHĀJAḤ

(a) *Terrestrial Deities (Pṛthivīsthānadevatāḥ)*

Agniḥ, Draviṇodāḥ, Idhmaḥ, Tanūnapāt, Narāśarṣaḥ, Iḷaḥ, Barhiḥ, Dvāraḥ, Uśāsānaktā, Daivyāhotārā, Tisrodevīḥ, Tvaṣṭā, Vanaspatīḥ, Svāhā, Kṛtayaḥ, Agnāyī, Devījoṣṭrī, Devīūrjāhūtī (17).

(b) *Atmospheric Deities (Madhyasthānadevatāḥ)*

Vāyuḥ, Varuṇaḥ, Rudraḥ, Indraḥ, Parjanyaḥ, Brahmanāspatīḥ, Kṣet-rasya patīḥ, Vāstospatīḥ, Vācaspatīḥ, Apām napāt, Yamaḥ, Mitraḥ, Kaḥ, Sarasvān, Viśvakarmā, Tārksyaḥ, Manyuḥ, Dadhikrāḥ, Savitā, Tvaṣṭā, Vātaḥ, Agniḥ, Prajāpatīḥ, Sarasvatī, Sinīvālī and Kuhu (27) ; Śyena and Mṛtyu (2) drink *soma* (29).

(c) *Celestial Deities (Antarikṣasthānadevatāḥ)*

Aśvīmau, Yamaḥ, and Viśvedevāḥ take *Soma* ; Ādityāḥ take *havis*, and the Vasavaḥ take both *havis* and *soma*. (5).

## III. NIPĀTABHĀJAḤ

(a) *Terrestrial Deities*

Jātavedāḥ and Vaiśvānara (2).

(b) *Atmospheric Deities*

Vidhātṛ and Āptyāḥ (2).

(c) *Celestial Deities*

Tvaṣṭā, Viśvānaraḥ, Pṛthivī, Samudraḥ, Atharvā, Manuḥ, Dadhyaṇ and Aja Ekapād (8).

## APPENDIX B

*Classification of Vedic gods according to the Bṛhaddevatā<sup>37</sup>*(a) *Uktamantrāḥ (Deities who are praised by hymns)*

Saptarṣayaḥ, Vasavaḥ, Devāḥ, Atharvāṇaḥ, Bhṛgavaḥ, Somaḥ, Sūryaḥ, Sūryā, Pathyā, Svastīḥ, Rodasī, Kuṛūḥ, Guṇḡḡḥ, Aditiḥ, Dhenuḥ, Aghnyā, Asunītiḥ, Iḷā, Āptyā, Anumatīḥ and Aṅgirasāḥ (21).

(b) *Havirbhājaḥ (Deities who own oblations)*

Vaiśvānaraḥ, Suparnaḥ, Vivasvat, Prajāpatīḥ, Dyauḥ, Sudhanvā, Nagoh-yāḥ, Apām Napāt, Aryamā, Vātajūtiḥ, Iḷaspatīḥ, Rathaspatīḥ, Rbhavaḥ, Parjanyaḥ, Parvataḥ, Gnāḥ, Dakṣaḥ, Bhagaḥ, Devapatniḥ, Diśaḥ, Ādityaḥ, Rudrāḥ, Pitarāḥ, and Sādhyāḥ (24).

37. This classification is given in *Bṛhaddevatā*, VIII, 125-128 ; according to the next verse (VIII, 129) the two divisions noted above include the incidental deities (*Nipātinaḥ*) in each case.

# INDUS CIVILIZATION \*

## II. CULTURAL

By

Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

IN the first lecture entitled "Descriptive", I dealt with the story of the excavations and description of the lay-out of the various excavated areas, of the different types of buildings, drains, wells, bricks, of the rooms, baths, roofs, floors, stairs, etc. of the houses, of the Great Bath and Stūpa, etc. It may be said to have considered the Architectural aspect of the Indus Civilization. In the present lecture, I begin with "Sculpture" and "Art", after which are given some glimpses into the social life of the people of the Indus Colony, presenting a fairly clear picture of their everyday life, their food and dress, coiffure and personal ornaments, toiletry and cosmetics, household articles, games and toys, domesticated animals, weights and measures, weapons, arts and crafts, etc. and funerary customs. Ceramics, seals and sealings, metals and minerals, ivory, faience, shell and other objects, etc., will form the subject of the next lecture, after which, crucial and critical matters, about which there is controversy, such as the religion, the script, the authors of the civilization, etc. will be dealt with, as also views and theories of Rev. Father HERAS, Dr. PRAN NATH, Dr. SARUP, Prof. VENKATESVARA, Lt. Col. WADDELL, Dr. MOOKERJI and others about the Indus Civilization. Original Home of the Aryans as also the date of the *R̥gveda* and the so-called Aryan Invasion of India will have to be critically considered in this connection.

Before coming to "Sculpture", a few words may be said about the municipal administration. The carefully planned city and the drainage system presuppose a fairly advanced state of civic authority. Some of the large halls referred to in the first lecture have been taken by some to be municipal or town halls. At some places, lamp-posts have been found indicating lighting arrangements.<sup>1</sup> In some big buildings on principal thoroughfares are found single rooms on corner sides, with doors opening in important streets.<sup>2</sup> These appear to be quarters provided for watchmen who possibly guarded the streets during night. That the sanitation of the city was well looked after is seen from the rubbish heap found in deep trenches

\* Extension Lecture delivered on September 8, 1941. The text of the first lecture has appeared in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, III, pp. 21-39.

1. *Further Excavations* (*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, By E. J. H. MACKAY, Delhi, 1938), pp. 59, 79, 172.

2. *Further Excavations*, p. 172.

outside the city, consisting of broken pottery, ashes and humus.<sup>3</sup> Trees and plants were allowed to grow in the enclosures.<sup>4</sup> Re-use of bricks taken from drains at some places suggests that the municipality was, at times, unduly careful in the issue of material, with the result that the mason had to excavate to procure bricks for his work. The haphazard manner in which successive buildings have been erected on earlier foundations as also the building over and encroachment upon lanes in the later period of the occupation of the city, show decline of the civic authority later on. The quarters of potters inside the city<sup>5</sup> also bear testimony to the same fact. With a view to find city walls, many trial trenches were cut outside the excavated areas, and in November 1931, the archaeologists came across "what looked suspiciously like a portion of a city wall with a small gateway."<sup>6</sup> But further work had to be unfortunately stopped owing to financial depression. It may be observed in this connection that this portion lay to the NE of the Great Bath, where a large building of unusual interest was found, with staircase outside, which Prof. BANERJI took as a *ghat* or landing ground,<sup>7</sup> when the Indus used to flow nearer the city. The point remains undecided owing to stoppage of excavation work.

**SCULPTURE :** That statuary is rare would be evident from the fact that only nine pieces were found upto 1927, three of which came from the L. Area, two each from the SD and HR Areas, and one each from the DK and VS Areas. All statues are cut from comparatively soft stones, grey and yellow lime stone, alabaster and steatite. Four of these represent human heads, three, animals, one, a composite animal, and the remaining one defies identification.

In the following lines I draw attention to important pieces of sculpture, mentioning their special and prominent characteristics, broken specimens being simply passed over. The steatite male head illustrated in Pl. XCVIII 1-4 looks like an attempt at portraiture. The figure is draped in a shawl, decorated with trefoil patterns, interspersed with small circles, which is worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The eyes are long and half-closed in a *yogi*-attitude. With regard to the so-called *yogi*-attitude of this statue, which has been accepted by all scholars and archaeologists save Col. GORDON,<sup>8</sup> we shall refer at some length when dealing with the religion of the people. The nose is well formed and of medium size ; the mouth is of average size with close cut moustache<sup>9</sup> and a short beard

3. *Further Excavations*, p. 1.

4. Cf. *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 165.

5. In the DK Area, G. Section ; cf. also, *Further Excavations*, p. 6.

6. *Further Excavations*, p. 5.

7. *Cal. Mun. Gaz.*, (*Calcutta Municipal Gazette*), 4th Anniversary No., p. 99.

8. *Iraq*, VII, p. 5.

9. *MIC (Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, By Sir John MARSHALL, London, 1931), pp. 357, 362. Dr. FRANKFORT, however, after studying the actual head, states that the 'upper lip is shaved.—*Archæology and the Sumerian Problem*, Chicago, 1932, p. 29 n 1.



and whiskers : the ears resemble double shells with a hole in the middle. The hair are parted in the middle, and a plain fillet of woven material is passed round the head. An armlet is worn on the right hand, and the holes round the neck suggest a necklace. Another lime-stone male head (Pl. XCIX. 7-9)<sup>9a</sup> is remarkable for the small size of the cranium, as compared with the broad heavy face. The alabaster male statue (Pl. C. 1-3) wears a thin shawl over left shoulder and under the right arm, with its knee raised. It is difficult to believe, according to Dr. MACKAY, that the same man carved both arms and hands, for the right arm, though of rough workmanship, shows some power of modelling, while the left arm and hand are positively shapeless.<sup>10</sup> Sir John MARSHALL; on the other hand, notes that the right arm is there and the left arm is hidden behind the shawl, and hence much definition in the modelling of the latter is not to be expected ; probably the shawl itself was painted and this would have imparted a different aspect to the figure.<sup>11</sup> The lime-stone statue (Pl. C. 9) represents a couchant animal with the horns and body of a ram, and the trunk of an elephant. The head is broken and the animal reclines on a plinth. The noticeable features in all the statues are the prominent cheek bones ; thick, short, sturdy neck ; narrow, oblique eyes in contrast to the Sumerian statues which have round and full eyes ; and full, fleshy lips. The ears are not clearly represented, possibly because some ornaments were attached to them. The shapes of the heads are brachycephalic (Pl. XCIX 1 ; C. 4), dolicocephalic (Pl. XCIX. 7) and mesaticranial (Pl. XCVIII). The surfaces of the lime-stone and alabaster statues are not well finished. It cannot be said definitely whether the statues were originally painted or polished. They appear to be purposely smashed, the reason of which is difficult to find. Lack of stone accounts for the comparative rarity of statues and the poor conventional work in some of them.

The pieces of stone statuary brought to light subsequent to 1927 are all unfinished, but they definitely represent men. They do not show any special peculiarities distinct from those already found.

ART : The only artistic specimens found in the Indus Valley are in the figurines, seals, amulets and other small objects. Usually the figurines are found in broken conditions, with the arms and legs missing. Most of the human figures are females, and they are nude except for a narrow girdle round the loins. These figurines are of solid material and wear a fanlike head-dress ; pannier-like objects are seen on each side of the head, the cones on either side of the face forming a part of the headdress. Most of the figures are loaded with jewellery. Some figures show that women also wore caps. Eyes are represented by pellets of clay, usually oval in shape. The nose is always prominent and the mouth cleverly portrayed. All figures are well-baked, and some of them are painted in red. Excepting one illustrated

9A. Plate and Fig. Nos. referred to in this article relate to the illustrations in *MIC*, unless specifically stated otherwise.

10. *MIC*, p. 359.

11. *MIC*, pp. 44, 359, n 1.

in Pl. XCV. 23, all are made by hand. Rarity of male figures is significant, and the female figurines are taken to be sacred images, probably of the Mother Goddess, on account of their resemblance to one another, and frequency.<sup>12</sup>

Animal figures are found in large numbers, chiefly made of pottery ; the squirrel and monkeys are made in faience, and a turtle in shell. By far the most popular animal is the short-horned bull, with its slightly lowered head realistically portrayed as in the seals. The mastiff cut from steatite (Pl. XCVI. 17) is quite life-like and resembles the English mastiff of to-day. The small carvings, presumably used as amulets are most charming,—little squirrels in faience, not a couple of inches high, sitting up with tails erect and munching something from beneath their fore-paws ; little monkeys with that identical worried expression which is so noticeable on the faces of their descendants to-day ; and perhaps, most delightful of all, a bead (Pl. XLVIII. 5) carved with three monkeys sitting round in circles, clasping one another's waists with their arms. Most of these are children's play-things. Col. GORDON rightly takes objection to Dr. MACKAY's surmise as to some of these being the works of children themselves.<sup>13</sup>

The bronze figure of an aboriginal dancing girl (Pl. XCIV 6-8) with her hands on the hip, almost in a half impudent posture is a noteworthy object. The arms and legs are long out of proportion, and she wears bracelets right up to the shoulder. The legs are put slightly forward with the feet beating time to the music. "This little nude dancing girl", says Mr. BRAILSFORD, "moves me by her vivacity and grace beyond any human figure that has survived from the ancient world."<sup>14</sup>

"Of the seal engravings, the best are those that portray such living animals as the artist had an opportunity of studying ; notably the humped bull, the buffalo and the bison."<sup>15</sup> The humped bull is very faithfully represented ; the artist has tempered realism with breadth of treatment and restraint. Sometimes the animals are frankly realistic and spirited. The buffalo is shown with a slightly raised head, displaying its great horns in the act of bellowing, very effectively ; so too is the bison with powerful arched shoulders and relatively small hind-quarters. The blue-faience tablet depicting a deity seated cross-legged on a throne, with a kneeling devotee on either side and a snake behind, "serves well to illustrate how instructive and illuminating a background this new-found prehistoric art of India is likely to supply to the later art of historic India."<sup>16</sup> The best of the engraved seals with pictographic legends, are "masterpieces of the engraver's art, as vivid in their drawing as they are skilful in execution,"<sup>17</sup> such as could only have been turned out by people possessed of marked artistic ability and great technical skill.

12. *MIC*, p. 339.

14. *Aryan Path*, 1932, p. 639.

16. MARSHALL, *III*, *Lond. News*, Mar. 6, 1926.

17. BRAILSFORD, *Aryan Path*, 1932, p. 640.

13. *Iraq*, VII, p. 5.

15. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 43.

The two statuettes from Harappa (Pl. X ; XI) are more striking than the engraving of the bull on the seals mentioned above. They revolutionize the current idea about early Indian Art. In both, there are socket holes in the neck and shoulders for the attachment of head and arms, made in separate pieces. In the red-stone torso, the frontal pose is adopted, the shoulders are well backed, and the abdomen slightly prominent. This is the work of which a Greek of the fourth century B.C. might well have been proud.<sup>18</sup> The other statuette represents a dancer standing on the right leg with the left leg raised in front, the body above the waist and both arms bent round to the left. The pose is full of movement. The neck is abnormally thick, so it is possible that it may be the representation of Śiva Naṭarāja, or the head might have been that of an animal.<sup>19</sup> The anatomical faithfulness in the two statuettes is startling. It may be observed here, however, that Col. GORDON is not prepared to grant prehistoric antiquity to the Harappa statuettes which he places in the third c. B.C.<sup>20</sup> He takes exception to the dating of some other antiquities among the Indus finds to which we shall refer when dealing with the date of the Indus Culture.

The remarkably well-made stone beads, especially those of clear and clouded agate, red translucent carnelian, etc., speak highly in favour of the lapidary's art. An instance of the considerable skill exhibited in the manufacture of stone beads is one that was made of five segments of chalcedony and deep red carnelian which were cemented together to imitate a bead cut out of a piece of regularly veined stone.<sup>21</sup>

Now let us turn to the description of the life of the ancient people of the Indus Colony.

CITIZENS : All the skeletons unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro belong to the Chalcolithic period, and they may be taken as the representatives of the population of the city. The craniological tests carried out by Col. SEWELL and Dr. GUHA result in the recognition of four racial types among the Indus population : viz., *i.* Proto-Australoid, *ii.* Mediterranean, *iii.* Mongolian Branch of the Alpine Stock, and *iv.* Alpine, the last two being each represented by a single skull.<sup>22</sup> The first two types have dolicho-cranial skulls ; the brain capacity in the second type is less than the first. The third has mesaticranial skull, and the last one is brachycranial. The cosmopolitan

18. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 46.

19. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 47.

20. *Journ. R. A. S. Bengal*, VI, Letters, p. 66 ; Mr. HARGREAVES also does not agree in ascribing the torso to the Indus period. *ASR* (*Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report), 1928-29, p. 79 n 2.

21. MACKAY, *JRSA* (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*) ; 82, p. 219. Among fine arts, Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT includes music besides dancing and sculpture, and thinks that "the earliest stringed instruments and drums . . . are to be traced to the Indus Civilization." *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (*Prehist. Civ.*), Madras, 1939, p. 30.

22. F. W. T., *JRAS*, 1932, p. 460.

character of the population in a place like Mohenjo-Daro with easy land and water communications is quite natural. It was the meeting ground of the Proto-Australoids from the Indian Sub-continent, Mediterraneans from the Southern shores of Asia, and Alpines and Mongolian Alpines from the mountains of Western and Eastern Asia respectively. The representations of the sculptured heads also speak of the mingling of diverse races. Sir Arthur KEITH's conclusion "after examining all the evidence produced by Col. SEWELL and Dr. GUHA is that the majority of the human remains found in Mohenjo-Daro belonged to a people who did not differ materially from men and women now living along the Indus valley; but there was also amongst them a long-faced strong-faced type which was not Indian in origin."<sup>23</sup> Dr. SARUP has shown that not only the skeletal remains but the plastic representation of human heads also do not represent the Dravidian type.<sup>24</sup> I shall revert to this topic later on in the final lecture when dealing with the Authorship of the Indus Culture where the claims of various races, culturally and ethnologically, will be subjected to a critical test.

THEIR DRESS, COIFFURE AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS : DRESS. The only available evidence for the style of dress consists of two statues and a number of small terracotta figurines. The statues represent male figures draped with a shawl-like cloth, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm so as to leave the right arm free, which recalls the *upavita* mode peculiar to India, and discovered during the later Vedic Age.<sup>25</sup> Dr. AIYANGAR states that "this is the style in which the upper cloth is worn by the Brahmins and high class Hindus generally in South India."<sup>26</sup> It may be observed that this mode of drapery is found everywhere in India, both among the cultured and the rustic Hindus. The large number of human figurines in terracotta and clay, both male and female, that are nude does not warrant the inference that people went about unclothed save for their head-dresses and ornaments; for it is not unlikely that the figurines were cult-objects and not real representations of human folk.<sup>27</sup> One alabaster statue shows that two garments were worn, of which the shawl noted above formed the upper garment. The lower garment may have been a Kilt, which resembles modern *dhoti*. There is nothing to distinguish between the male and female attire. Garments were of cotton or wool, and possibly were sewn, as would appear from needles found at the site. "In Babylonia, a garment was fre-

23. *Ill. Lond. News*, Dec. 19, 1931, p. 1002.

24. *Indian Culture*, IV, p. 152.

25. VENKATESVARA, *Aryan Path*, 1934, p. 88; *Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, Vol. III, pp. 41, 56. It is interesting to note in this connection that *Yajñopavita* originally represented a piece of cloth.—cf. Ganganath JHA, *Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Vol. I, pp. 62-64. V. BHATTACHARYA, *Viśva-Bhārati Qltly*, July 1923, pp. 107-117.

26. *Hindu Illustrated Weekly*, Sept. 10, 1933, p. 2.

27. Cf. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 339.

quently worn round the waist (Kaunaki), and also a shawl under the right and over the left shoulder."<sup>28</sup>

**COIFFURE :** The male inhabitants grew hair on the head and either cut it short behind, or coiled it in a knot and tied it up with a fillet at the back. "As a rule fillets would have been of cotton or some other pliable material" according to Sir John MARSHALL,<sup>29</sup> though our examples show them to be bands of gold with holes for cords at each end. Fillets in pre-Sargonic graves are of gold or silver or woven material. In regard to women, the only specimen figurine available shows the hair falling loose from behind. In bronze and other figures of women, however, the hair is usually done up and coiled in a heavy mass on the top of the head as the Malyali women do even now. Men shaved their upper lip, or close-cropped it in the opinion of Dr. MACKAY,<sup>30</sup> and grew short beards as in Mesopotamia.

**PERSONAL ORNAMENTS :** Ornaments were freely worn by men and women of all classes, necklaces, fillets, finger-rings and armlets being used both by men and women, whereas the fair sex exclusively used the girdles, anklets, ear-rings, ear-studs, ornamental pins and buttons, and perhaps nose-rings.<sup>31</sup> Ornaments for the rich were of gold, silver, faience, ivory and various kinds of semi-precious stones, while the poor had to be content with those mainly of shell, bone, copper and terra-cotta. A large ornament carved in yellow steatite bearing in relief the unicorn with the cult objects is too heavy for ordinary use, and was probably worn on the breast by a priest.<sup>32</sup> This steatite pectoral or amulet is the first object of its kind to be found at Mohenjo-Daro and it may have had some religious significance, possibly the wearer was regarded as 'the ear of the god.'<sup>33</sup> Some specimens of women's girdles are composed of strings of tubular beads of carnelian, with spacers and terminals of bronze and copper, sometimes even of gold. Various kinds of beads, to be described later on, were made use of for necklaces and girdles. The boring of hard substances like carnelian testifies to the high skill in drilling possessed by the ancient people. The dancing girl in bronze (Pl. XCIV. 6-8) is shown wearing bracelets covering the whole arm, a practice not without parallel in modern India. Bracelets at Mohenjo-Daro were made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, shell, vitrified paste, faience, ear-

28. VENKATESVARA, *Cult. Her.*, Vol. III, p. 42. For Summerian Dress, cf. FRANKFORT, *Arch. and Sum. Prob.*, pp. 12-13; *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Arch.*, Vol. VII, p. 11. For Vedic Dress, cf. BANERJI SASTRI, *Journ. Beh. Or. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-3; SARKAR, *Gāigā*, *Purātattvāṅka*, pp. 95-102.

29. *MIC*, p. 34.

30. Cf. footnote 9 above.

31. The illustrations of the articles which the archaeologists take to be nose-rings (cf. *Further Excavations*, pp. 531-533, and the Pl. and fig. nos. given there) do not appear to be nose-rings. Existence of nose-rings at so ancient a period would run counter to the conclusions of Prof. P. K. GODE who has, on the strength of literary evidence, proved that the antiquity of the nose-ornament in India does not go beyond 1000 A.D.—*Annals of the Bhand. O. R. Inst.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 313-332.

32. MACKAY, *JRSA*, 82, p. 219.

33. MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, pp. 546, 585.

thenware and pottery. No stone bracelets have been found as yet. Faience bracelets are far more elaborate than the others with incised ornamental patterns. On some skeletons were found shell bangles, copper rings and bracelets. On some of the bangles, which are hollow and filled with shellac or joined with wax are two pin-holes at each side of the joint. "These bracelets are unlike those of Syria and South Russia which are penannular."<sup>34</sup> Glass bangles have not been found so far nor any other materials of glass, which, however, has been found in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring regions of Baluchistan in the third millennium B.C.<sup>35</sup> The conical gold caps seem to have been worn on either side of the face, on the analogy of the dress of the figurines. Buttons of copper or faience were used for sewing to the garments or for ornamenting the dress, or for making a scale-armour and copper and bronze chains similar to those used in modern times. Hair pins and hair pin heads having various shapes and sizes, some with incised designs and drawings and carved figures of birds and animals, were made of ivory, steatite, bronze, copper, bone, faience, lime-stone, etc. Mention may be made of a steatite pinhead carved into the form of three monkeys clasping one another around the shoulder,<sup>36</sup> which is a favourite motif in Egypt.

**TOILET REQUISITES :** The 'vanity case' found at Harappa<sup>37</sup> with its combination of piercer, ear-scoop and tweezers invites comparison with the similar finds from Ur, Kish and Khafaje, both types showing "the same peculiar construction of the looped head."<sup>38</sup> There were toilet jars of ivory, metal, pottery and stone. Toilet boxes were perhaps made of wood. There is quite a collection of small and well-made faience vessels having four compartments, to hold expensive cosmetic or perfumes. It is interesting to note that "they are unknown in any other ancient civilization, save Crete."<sup>39</sup> No mirrors were found at Mohenjo-Daro upto 1928, but now three specimens have been excavated.<sup>40</sup> They are of bronze, slightly oval in shape, with a handle having a flat back and a concave face. All were apparently cast. There are round metal rods, in copper and bronze, with both ends carefully rounded and polished, which were probably used for applying cosmetics like the Kohl-stick of ancient and modern Egypt.<sup>41</sup> Specimens of combs are rare probably because majority of them were made of wood which has perished.

34. VENKATESVARA, *Cult. Her.*, Vol. III, p. 44.

35. *MIC*, pp. 35, 582-583, states that "no true glass has yet been found at Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro", but mentions that glass-making was known in Mesopotamia; Dr. FRANKFORT, however, doubts the discovery of glass at so ancient a period.—*Ann. Bibl. Ind. Arch.*, 1932, Vol. VII, p. 7.

36. Pl. CLVIII, 5.

37. *ASR*, 1923-24, Pl. XIX, 22.

38. V. Gordon CHILDE, *The Most Ancient East*, London, 1929, p. 211; also FRANKFORT, *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.*, Vol. VII, p. 8.

39. MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, p. 320.

40. MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, pp. 477-478.

41. *MIC*, p. 505.

Those described in Sir John MARSHALL'S work were made of ivory and had two rows of teeth, there being one specimen (Pl. CXXXII.21) having a single row of teeth. Combs were used both by males and females, and some were probably worn in the head. Further excavations have brought to light two combs, differing from those already found.<sup>42</sup> One is a V-shaped ivory comb, with fine teeth, which may have been used to remove vermin from long lanky hair or used like the modern hair-slide to fasten a single lock in place. Razors, which have been grouped by Dr. MACKAY in four types, viz., double-bladed, L-shaped, hook-shaped and simple-blades, and were made of bronze and copper and had curved edges, served for the toilet of the mere male.<sup>43</sup>

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES : These were made of pottery, stone, shell, faience, ivory and metal. Copper and bronze are found to have replaced stone as the material for household implements, while faience was used only for small ornamental vases. Most of the household vessels were earthenware having various shapes, forms and designs. Comparative rarity of the vessels of copper and bronze may be due to the fact that then, as even now, the metal was valued being sold on its weight. For the kitchen were used flesh-rubbers, cake-moulds, dippers, beakers, bowls, goblets, dishes, basins, pans, saucers, cups, ladles, heaters, jar stands, storage jars, etc.,—all of pottery. The goblets with pointed bases which were the customary drinking vessels are found scattered everywhere round the wells, indicating thereby that they were to be used only once as is the custom with the more conservative section of the Hindus. Among the articles made of stone may be mentioned the querns, palettes, jar-stands, etc. Jar-covers and ladles were also made of shell. Various materials were used for making handles. For general domestic purposes were the needles and awls of bronze, copper and ivory ; axes, saws, sickles, knives, fish-hooks, chisels, etc. of bronze or copper. Blocks of lead were probably used as net-sinkers. With regard to furniture, it appears from some pottery models that chairs and bedsteads used to decorate the drawing room. The back of the seat in the chair is supported by a strut and one of the legs of the seat is knotted. There were stools having four legs, or in some cases the supports were shaped like the legs of a bull or somewhat like an hour-glass.<sup>44</sup> Bull-legged stools occur in Egypt from the First Dynasty, as also at Tell Asmar. There were lamps of copper, shell and pottery and it appears that there were street lamps.<sup>45</sup> Pannier-like head-dresses of the pottery figurines were sometimes used as tiny lamps.<sup>46</sup> The find of a pottery candle-stick, an article very rarely found on an ancient site, shows

42. *Further Excavations*, pp. 541-542.

43. *Further Excavations*, pp. 468-469 ; cf. *MIC*.

44. *Further Excavations*, pp. 335, 641.

45. *MIC*, pp. 87, 211 ; *Further Excavations*, pp. 59, 79, 423.

46. MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, p. 260. Prof. VENKATESVARA (*Cult. Heritage*, III, p. 60) refers to these as Dīpalakṣmī figures on their analogy with later metal figures in South India, holding the oil in hand.

that candles, probably made of wax or tallow with wicks of cotton, played their part in illuminating the houses at Mohenjo Daro.<sup>47</sup>

**AGRICULTURE :** The large number of saddle-querns found supplies the proof of agriculture. Though little is yet known about the actual methods of agriculture adopted by the Indus people, the specimens of wheat and barley found among the ruins indicate that they were not of the wild species but were cultivated. The grains of wheat represent, according to Dr. O. STAPP, two species of a club wheat, "both species are still in cultivation in the Punjab."<sup>48</sup> There is absolutely no grain of truth in the stories started some time back that the ancient carbonised seeds yielded wheat.<sup>49</sup> The variety of barley has been identified with the kind found in the pre-Dynastic graves in Egypt. Dr. MACKAY suggests that possibly rice was grown, which need not surprise us, as in ancient Sind there was a very heavy rain fall.<sup>50</sup> There is nothing to show whether the hoe had already been replaced by the plough in the Indus Valley. Stones of date found both in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa show that date was used as an article of food.

**FOOD :** Besides wheat and barley, milk too must have been another important item, and doubtless vegetables and other fruits besides the date were included in the dietary, but as to these there is no positive evidence.<sup>51</sup> The inhabitants of Harappa cultivated peas and sesamum too.<sup>52</sup> Animal food was also taken comprising largely of beef, mutton, pork, poultry, the flesh of the gharial, turtle and tortoise, fresh river fish and dried fish from the sea, and also shell-fish. That these were undoubtedly articles of diet has been inferred from the fact that their shells and bones have been found in a half-burnt state in the ruins.<sup>53</sup> It hardly requires any proof that the Vedic Aryans were meat eaters.<sup>54</sup>

**DOMESTICATED AND WILD ANIMALS :** Many animals were domesticated. Actual skeletal remains of the Indian humped bull, the buffalo, the sheep, the elephant, the pig and the camel have been recovered. Bones of the dog and horse have also been found, but not far below the surface.<sup>55</sup> Figures of hounds on terracotta and other pieces of clay show that the ancient people were familiar with the dog. There is some difference of opinion about the existence

47. MACKAY, *JRSA*, 82, p. 222 ; *Further Excavations*, pp. 414-415.

48. *MIC*, p. 586.

49. BHERUMAL MAHIRCHAND, *Mohan-jo-Daro*, p. 43 n ; *Times of India*, dated 13-3-1934 and 13-8-1934.

50. *MIC*, p. 456 ; about rainfall, cf. the previous article (*Bhāratiya Vidyā*, III, p. 25), also, DAS, *Rgvedic India*, p. 91.

51. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 27. Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT thinks it probable that "rice ... was also cultivated and included in the dietary of the people." *Prehist. Civ.*, p. 25.

52. *Exc. at Harappa*, p. 6.

53. Col. SEWELL, *MIC*, p. 670 ; cf. also *Exc. at Harappa*, p. 6.

54. Cf. also MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 111.

55. *MIC*, pp. 28, 650-654.



of horse at so ancient a period<sup>56</sup> ; on grounds to be dealt with in a subsequent paper, I am of opinion that the Indus people knew the horse. Clay models of toys indicate that the Indian bison, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the monkey, the bear and the hare were known to the inhabitants of the Indus Valley.<sup>57</sup> The donkey was also known, and a few bones of the cat have been found at Harappa. Among the smaller animals may be included the mongoose, the squirrel, the parrot, the peacock and the domestic fowl.<sup>57a</sup>

**GAMES :** Marbles and dice were the articles of games, the former being made of agate, onyx and other stones, some looking very beautiful. That dicing was a common pastime seems to follow from the large number of dice pieces found, which are made of pottery and are usually cubic in shape like the European dice, not like the oblong pieces in common use at present. The arrangement of numbers on the dice, however, is different from that obtaining in Europe (where the sum of the points on any two opposite sides amounts to 7) 1 being opposite to 2, 3 to 4, and 5 to 6.<sup>58</sup> It is also possible that the dice were used in conjunction with board games. Some articles regarded as gamesmen by Dr. MACKAY have been taken to be cult objects by Sir John MARSHALL.<sup>59</sup> The Vedic Indian, as is well known, was an inveterate gambler, horse racing and dicing being his favourite pastimes.

**TOYS :** The specimens of toys unearthed are various and interesting. They are clay models of men and women ; toy animals sometimes with movable heads ; whistles, ovoid or shaped like hens, or in the form of a bird, usually a dove, hollow within and with a small hole in the back, with pedestal-like bases ; rattles with small pellets of clay inside ; and household articles like the baking pans. Pottery rams, with fleece indicated by lines of red paint and mounted on two wheels with a hole through the neck for a draw-string were common play-things. The little toy-carts, according to Sir John MARSHALL, are particularly interesting as being among the earliest representatives of wheeled vehicles known to us, approximately contemporary with the chariot depicted on a stone slab at Ur (c. 3200 B.C. according to Dr. WOOLLEY) and a model of waggon from Anau<sup>60</sup>. The remarkably large number of toys found at Chanhudaro shows that toy-making was a local industry there. Among these may be mentioned toy-vehicles of various shapes mounted on two or four wheels and drawn by a pair of humped oxen as in modern Sind.<sup>61</sup> The animal figurines in the round are mostly toys, some serving as amulets.

56. MARSHALL, *MIC*, p. 28 ; MACKAY, *Further Excavations*, pp. 289-90 ; LAW, *Ind. Hist. Q'tly.* VIII, p. 160 ; LANGDON, *MIC*, p. 453 ; DIKSHITAR, *Culture of the Indus Valley*, p. 5 ; VENKATESVARA, *Aryan Path*, 1937, pp. 362-363 ; SEWELL, *MIC*, pp. 653-54 ; DIKSHIT, *Prehist. Civ.*, p. 40.

57. *MIC*, pp. 350-355 ; *Further Excavations*, pp. 283-298. It may be noted that the cow has not been represented at Mohenjo-Daro (*MIC*, p. 355).

57a. Cf. DIKSHIT, *Prehist. Civ.*, pp. 40-42.

58. *MIC*, pp. 551-552.

59. *MIC*, p. 557 n 4.

60. *MIC*, pp. 39, 554-555.

61. *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.*, Vol. X, p. 22.

**CONVEYANCES :** In addition to the models of carts found at Mohenjo-Daro,<sup>62</sup> which have the general appearance of the farm carts so commonly met with at present in the Punjab and Sind, a specimen has been found at Harappa, made of copper,<sup>63</sup> which looks like the *ekka* of the present day with a canopy for protection from the sun and the rain.

**WEIGHTS AND MEASURES :** In the Indus Valley weights have been found in large numbers and range from large examples which had to be lifted with a rope, to very small ones used by jewellers. These weights are divided into six types according to their shape, of which the cubical weights seem to be by far the most commonly used. These cubical weights are always made of chert, often beautifully banded or mottled, which was first roughly flaked into shape, then ground, and finally carefully finished. They have been found to be more accurate than the weights of other snapes and materials.<sup>64</sup> The large stone weights are conical, and are pierced with a hole for the passage of a rope for easy handling. The small weights of dark grey slate resemble the barrel-shaped weights of Elam and Mesopotamia, and "are made with much greater accuracy and consistency than those of Susa and Iraq."<sup>65</sup> The sequence of ratios is binary at first like the Susa weights, but subsequently decimal, i.e., 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600, etc. There is no evidence of a sexagesimal system, the frequently discovered weight being of ratio 16. The conclusion reached by Mr. HEMMY after considering the further specimens unearthed by Dr. MACKAY, inserts the ratio  $8\frac{1}{3}$  between 2 and 4 as given above; the unit weight has the calculated value of .8750 gms, the largest weight being 10970 gms. Groups with 13.712 gms. and double that amount are much more common than the others.<sup>66</sup> The absence of any mark does not justify the inference of Mr. HEMMY that commercial transaction took place between classes of people who were completely ignorant of reading or writing.<sup>67</sup> The poorer people used ordinary pebbles as weights.<sup>68</sup>

**MEASURE :** It was in further excavations that a slip of shell, 6.62" long, by 0.62" wide and 0.27" thick, with carefully spaced lines incised on it was found which Dr. MACKAY takes to be part of a longer measure.<sup>69</sup> Nine divisions still remain, each averaging 0.264". From the fact that groups of ten divisions were marked off by circles and were halved into groups of five, it appears that the decimal system was known. The scale is beautifully made and finished, and its accuracy is remarkable. Egypt is familiar with the decimal system of linear measure since the Fourth Dynasty, and a purely decimal system is found on the Proto-Elamite tablets. Early Sumer used both

62. *MIC*, pp. 273 n 2, 554.

63. *Exc. at Harappa*, pp. 99-100; *MIC*, p. 555.

64. *Further Excavations*, p. 606.

65. HEMMY, *MIC*, p. 596; cf. also, *Further Excavations*, p. 606.

66. *Further Excavations*, p. 606; also, *MIC*, p. 596.

67. *MIC*, p. 596.

68. *Further Excavations*, p. 404.

69. *Further Excavations*, pp. 404-406.

the decimal and the sexagesimal systems. It is likely that the system had an independent origin in the Indus Valley ; Mr. HEMMY observes similarly regarding the decimal system of weights.<sup>70</sup> No measures have been found at Harappa.

**COTTON SPINNING AND TEXTILES :** It is evident from the discovery of many spindles and spindle-whorls or *Taklis* in the houses at Mohenjo-Daro that spinning of cotton and wool was very common. That both the rich and the poor practised spinning is indicated by the whorls being made of the expensive faience, as also of the cheap pottery and shell. Cotton was used for the lighter textile and wool for the warmer one. No textiles of any description have been preserved at Mohenjo-Daro owing to the nature of the soil ; a close and exhaustive examination, however, of the pieces of cotton which were found attached to a silver vase, in the Technological Laboratory<sup>71</sup> shows the specimen to be a variety of the coarser Indian cotton, cultivated in upper India to-day. Its convoluted structure proves that it could never have come from the wild species, which have no convolutions such as the *Gossypium Stocksii* now found in Sind or Bombay. This disproves the current idea that *Sindhu* or *Sindon* was the yield of the cotton tree and not true cotton.<sup>72</sup> Further Excavations have brought to light some more samples of woven material adhering to various copper objects and which were evidently preserved by the metallic salts created by the contact of the metal with alkalies in the damp soil of the site.<sup>73</sup> Most of the textiles have proved to be cotton, but some were found to be bast fibres. As to the growing of flax, which is largely grown in India at present, and known in ancient Egypt and Elam, there is no indication from the ruins. The purple dye on a piece of cotton is taken to have been produced from the madder plant. Dyers' vats found in the site<sup>74</sup> confirm the notion that dyeing was practised.

**WEAPONS :** The weapons of war or of chase are axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, maces, slings, perhaps catapults and swords. Blade-axes were either of copper or bronze and either long and narrow, or short and broad. They resemble the early specimens found at Susa. Spear-heads are thin and broad, without the strengthening mid-rib, and with a tang instead of a socket. With regard to large thin spear-heads, Dr. MACKAY suggests that they were trophies captured from a people of inferior civilisation ; but the fact, as noted by Sir John MARSHALL, that these weapons are recovered from all parts of the site at all levels and even from Harappa, " necessarily militates against Mr. MACKAY's hypothesis ".<sup>75</sup> No arrow-heads of flint or any other stone have been found either at Mohenjo-Daro or at Harappa. They are thin, flat pieces of copper with long narrow barbs and no tang. Subsequent find of large numbers of arrow-heads dispels the notion held at

70. *Further Excavations*, p. 606.

71. *MIC*, pp. 585-586.

72. *Cf. MIC*, p. 33.

73. *Further Excavations*, pp. 441-442, 591-594.

74. HR Area, B Section, House X.

75. *MIC*, p. 492 also n 2.

first that the bow and the arrow were not a favourite weapon.<sup>76</sup> Maces were made in alabaster, sand-stone, cherty lime-stone and hard green-coloured stone. They are of three shapes, the pear-shaped mace resembling the specimens found in Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt being the most common. Sling balls were round or ovoid in shape, the latter being rare. Both types are found in early Sumer and Turkestan, but none at Susa or in early Egypt. A number of large round balls of baked clay, or roughly chipped stones which might have been used in catapults have been found, similar to those which are taken in Mesopotamia as ballista-balls.<sup>77</sup> The absence of sword in the first excavations was mentioned as a curious phenomenon; swords, however, appeared for the first time in 1930-31.<sup>78</sup> They are generally of copper, double-edged, and well made and shaped. Swords comparable to our specimens have been found in early Sumer and Egypt at about the same period. It is very uncertain to which country the invention of the sword can be ascribed. Independent origin has been suggested as the more probable solution. Much capital was made of the fact that no defensive armour was unearthed in the earlier excavations, the absence being taken as proving that the Indus people were quite different from the Vedic Aryans who mention armours.<sup>79</sup> In addition to a number of thin, domed pieces of copper perforated with two minute holes which have been taken as forming a kind of scale armour,<sup>80</sup> there has been found a seal at Chanhudaro (Ch. 372, Pl. XVII, 38) on which the shield sign occurs for the first time.<sup>81</sup> It is also quite likely that coats of mail of the Indus people were of leather as were those of the Vedic Aryans, which have been destroyed by salty soil; it is equally likely that further excavations may bring to light helmets and armours, if they be of metal.

**MEDICINES:** Pieces of a coal-black substance forming a dark-brown solution of water have been identified with Silajit.<sup>82</sup> It exudes from the rocks in the Himalayan ranges from where it is brought for sale in the plains. Silajit is known to be a specific for dyspepsia, diabetes, diseases of the liver system, rheumatism, etc. The horns of the deer and antelope seem to have been imported for medicinal purposes.<sup>83</sup> It is suggested that the horns of the rhinoceros were also valued for their medicinal qualities.<sup>84</sup> Possibly, leaves of neem tree and coral were used as medicines.<sup>85</sup> There must have been, of course, a number of other medicines, which it would not be possible to come across; but it is not impossible that charms, amulets and heal-

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76. *MIC*, p. 36.

77. BANKS, *Bismya*, p. 336.

78. *Further Excavations*, pp. 466-467; MACKAY, *JRSA*, 82, p. 220; cf. *MIC*, p. 35.

79. MARSHALL, *MIC*, pp. 110-111; also, BRAILSFORD, *Aryan Path*, 1932, p. 639.

80. *Further Excavations*, p. 546

81. *Explorations in Sind*, p. 38.

82. *MIC*, pp. 29, 587-88, 689-90.

83. *MIC*, p. 29.

84. *Further Excavations*, p. 291.

85. *Further Excavations*, pp. 341, 580.

ing herbs were also employed for curing diseases, similar to those embodied in the *Atharva Veda*.

**TRADE :** We have definite instances of connection with the Southern and Eastern India, as also with countries immediately to the West. Evidence as to relations with Sumer is overwhelming. There were trade relations with Egypt and Crete also.<sup>86</sup> These contacts with the outside world will be considered somewhat in detail later on while dealing with the extent and relations of the Indus Culture. The absence of any model ship or representation of it on any seal prior to 1927 was taken as indicating that the Indus people had no knowledge of sea-going ships. The first representation of a ship was found on a seal in further excavations, which is illustrated in Pl. LXXXIX, 30.<sup>87</sup> The boat has a sharply upturned prow and stern, similar to the archaic representations on Early Minoan seals, cylinder seals of Sumer, and the pre-Dynastic pottery of Egypt. It is mastless, has a central cabin, and a steersman seated at the rudder. It was perhaps made of bundles of reeds rather than of wood. Dr. MACKAY is certainly right in his view that the Indus Valley was in touch with Sumer and Elam by sea route as well.<sup>88</sup> Thus, Mohenjo-Daro in ancient days may have been a great sea port carrying on trade with Ur and Kish, probably also with Egypt.

**INDUSTRIAL ARTS :** The Indus people practised all the arts of the chalcolithic age. Thus we find instances of ceramic art in various types of plain and painted pottery, as also glazed pottery and knobbed ware, and again in pottery seals, figurines, etc. Ceramics will be dealt with later on. The art of the goldsmith and jeweller is displayed in the numerous articles and ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones. Seals and other articles of ivory and shell testify to the skill of the engraver and the shell worker. Mason's handiwork is supplied by the beautiful buildings and architectural specimens. Cotton textiles show that the weaver's profession also flourished in those days.

**FUNERARY CUSTOMS :** Finally we turn to the funerary customs. Our study of the Indus Civilization would be incomplete without some account of the methods of the disposal of the dead employed by the people of the Indus Valley. The available evidence, however, is yet far too meagre and obscure for any definite conclusions. The sepulchral evidence is yet rarer at Mohenjo-Daro, as compared to Harappa which reports a somewhat ampler evidence; but the latter relates to a phase subsequent to that represented at Mohenjo-Daro. I shall first deal in brief with the different forms of the disposal of the dead which have been noticed at Mohenjo-Daro, and then turn to Harappa and other places in the Indus Valley.

Three forms of burials have been found at Mohenjo-Daro.

Of complete burials, which mean the burial of the whole body cere-

86. *MIC*, pp. 674-685 (Ch. XXXII); *Further Exc.*, pp. 639-648.

87. *Further Excavations*, p. 647.

88. *Further Excavations*, p. 647.

monially performed in various forms with the so-called grave furniture, offerings, etc., only 21 skeletons were found at Mohenjo-Daro in three groups up to 1927. Later on Dr. MACKAY found in the DK mound 9 skeletons with one head severed from the trunk, and two elephant's tusks; but these have been taken to be the victims of the Baluchi raiders, and the spot where they were found suggests that these did not relate to the regular funerary customs at all.<sup>89</sup> The first group among those excavated earliest was found in HR Area, Section B, House V, Room 74, and consisted of 14 skeletons, including one of a child. The skeletons had some personal ornaments still encircling the bones, such as copper and shell bracelets, copper finger-rings, copper and faience beads, and even a seal. These skeletons were lying in very contorted attitudes evidencing simultaneous death due to some accident. They were apparently buried by just roughly heaping a debris over them, and their proximity to the surface of the mound shows that they belonged to the last phase of the city. The theory of accidental deaths propounded by the discoverer, Mr. HARGREAVES<sup>90</sup>, is acceptable to Dr. MACKAY<sup>91</sup> and Sir John MARSHALL;<sup>92</sup> Sir Arthur KEITH, however, suggests that the bodies "represent a human sacrifice".<sup>93</sup> Another group, found in VS Area, Lane 4, comprises six skeletons (one being that of a child) over two of which were lying the vertebrae of an animal. The only other objects found were a shell ball and three pieces of shell inlay. The third group is a single skeleton found in HR Area, Section A, Deadman Lane. The possibility of all these skeletons being those of some jungle tribe which occupied Mohenjo-Daro after the city fell into ruins is excluded by the fact that these skeletons are, without falling a prey to the wild beasts and birds amongst the ruins of the city, found entire; and further, a jungle tribe cannot be expected to contain three distinct racial types these skeletons are found to represent. The stratigraphical evidence and the fact that the surrounding houses and lanes were built over, show that all these burials took place in the declining years of Mohenjo-Daro.

With regard to the fractional burial, it is only a collection of some bones after the body was exposed to wild beasts and birds. Fractional burials have been found at five places in Mohenjo-Daro, two of which are in the HR Area and the remaining three in the VS Area.<sup>94</sup> The best example (Pl. XLIII

89. *JRSA*, 82, p. 213.

90. *MIC*, pp. 185-186.

91. *JRSA*, 82, p. 213.

92. *MIC*, p. 79.

93. *Ill. Lond. News*, Dec. 19, 1931, p. 1002.

94. (i) Courtyard 13, House III, Section A, HR Area. (ii) Room 126, House X, Sect. B, HR Area: earthenware vessels, terra-cotta figurines, balls, fragments of alabaster and chert-flakes. (iii) Pit outside Room 72, South end of Lane 5, VS Area: human bones together with a large and varied collection of pottery, some terra-cotta animals, beads and pieces of chert. (iv) Room 66, House XXVII, VS Area: large group of pottery including the stem of an offering dish of the Kish type, some vessels containing charred bones. (v) Courtyard in House XXVII, VS Area: besides a variety of other vessels the pottery included a broken offering dish.

d) found in HR Area Section A, House III, Courtyard 13, is an urn containing a skull and some fragmentary bones nearby. Along with this urn were a number of earthenware vessels, and a variety of small objects such as balls, beads, chert-flakes, a shell spoon, bits of ivory and some miniature vessels. Among the pottery, are the squat carinated vessels adorned with deer, branching foliage and other devices (Pl. LXXXIX, 2) showing western influence. The skull was found to be of the Mongolo-Alpine stock. Most of the other examples do not contain any human bones, possibly because very few bones might have been left after exposure to wild animals, and these were ground to dust before internment as is done in the Punjab now. The burials found in HR Area, B Section, and in VS Area, Lane 5, belong probably to the Late Period, and the remaining three to the Intermediate III Period.

Post-cremation burials consist of large wide-mouthed urns containing a number of smaller vessels, bones of small quadrupeds, birds or fish, and a variety of small objects such as beads, bangles, terra-cotta figurines, chert-flakes, sometimes mixed with charcoal ashes. They have been found at six places in Mohenjo-Daro,<sup>95</sup> distributed among buildings of all periods, and generally underneath a floor or a street. The smaller vessels in the urns are of various forms, such as bowls, saucers, pointed goblets, beakers, and sometimes miniature vases used for cosmetics or unguents. The burial urns generally contain bones of animals, fishes, birds, etc. in varying quantities, one containing even a tortoise shell and some other antlers. It is only rarely that human bones are found, those generally found being the bones of lambs, goats, etc. For post-cremation burials, bones are hardly necessary and need not be expected as a little of the ashes would also serve the purpose well. The uniform character of the urns quite distinct from those intended for domestic use, as also the offerings in the shape of objects of special interest to the departed, and the burial of the urns either within dwelling houses or in their close proximity, leave no doubt as to these being burial urns. Whether this kind of burial marks a transition from burning to burial is more than what can be stated at present.

Dr. CHATTERJI has noted four kinds of burials, in Kennel-like tombs (tholos burial), in terra-cotta chests containing the whole body (larnyx burial), jar burial, and urn burial,<sup>96</sup> of which the last two correspond with our fractional and post-cremation burials respectively. Dr. CHATTERJI concludes that burial was the earliest custom on the analogy of similar tombs from Crete, Cyprus, etc., and that urn-burial was "the latest method of the

95. (i) Narrow northern entrance to the Great Bath. (ii) Lane 3, South of House XIX, VS Area. (iii) Room 15, House V, VS Area. (iv) Beneath corridor in House XXVI, VS Area. (v) and (vi) Lane 5, VS Area.

96. *Modern Review*, Dec. 1924, pp. 671-672. Sir John MARSHALL probably refers to the chamber burial illustrated on p. 670 of Dr. CHATTERJI's article, at pp. 120-121 of *MIC*. It is not referred to in Ch. VI, "Disposal of the Dead", of *MIC*.

disposal of the dead" as "it was found on the uppermost stratum";<sup>97</sup> but the stratification, provenance and number of the various kinds of burials is not stated. The evidence at Harappa which represents the latest phase of the Indus Civilisation is practically conclusive, as we shall presently see, with regard to the fact that tomb-burials denote the latest settlement at Mohenjo-Daro.

On account of the importance of the excavations at other sites in Sind as also at Harappa, we shall, as already stated, separately deal with the disposal of the dead at these places in brief. At Damb Buthi, Mr. MAJUMDAR came across a prehistoric burial place, consisting of five chambers in one of which was found a group of pottery articles together with human skeletal remains.<sup>98</sup> These were resting in a packing of yellow earth mixed with pottery debris. Bones were in a disturbed condition and very much calcinated. Some vessels, such as pans, bowls and tumblers and vases, were intact. Similar pottery was found along with bones in another chamber. Each burial had a rectangular enclosure made of rough-hewn blocks of stone, within which the body together with its associated objects was laid on the natural rocky surface. Such rectangular stone enclosures occur at Nal also. No complete skeleton could be recovered, probably because skeletons were not interred in full. Bones were lying pell-mell over the floor. No trace of cremation was detected. It is thought that inhumation was practised at Damb Buthi. The burial is of the 'Fractional Burial' type described earlier, of which evidence is available also at Nal and Musyan in Persia. Funerary pottery was mostly wheel-turned, some was hand-made.

Recent excavations at Harappa have brought to light a cemetery containing two strata one above the other; the upper one of pot-burials, and the lower one of earth burials.<sup>99</sup> In the upper stratum were found more than 120 burial pots, having various shapes, the commoner forms being round, ellipsoid or carinated, and with heights varying from 9½" to 23½". They were fractional burials. Small earthen vessels commonly found with other burial spots were conspicuous by their absence. The bones were indiscriminately packed in the pots at the bottom. Exposure of the corpse to birds and beasts of prey and then depositing the excarnated remains in an urn, also seems to be one of the methods of the disposal of the dead. It may be observed in this connection that the *Mahābhārata* indirectly refers to the exposure of corpses to wild beasts and birds as the praiseworthy mode of the disposal of the dead on the battle-field.<sup>100</sup> The paintings on

97. *Modern Review*, Dec. 1924, pp. 671-672; cf. also CODRINGTON, *Ancient India*, London, 1926, pp. 7-10.

98. *Explorations in Sind*, Mem. Arch. Sur. India, No. 48, Delhi, 1934, pp. 115-117.

99. *Excavations at Harappa*, Delhi, 1940, pp. 16, 203-240 (Ch. VI).

100. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 98. 45; also my *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, p. 469.



the burial pottery show preference for animal and realistic motifs such as the goat, deer, bull and peacocks, kites and fish as well as few plants, trees, leaves and stars, while the paintings on secular pottery show a bias in favour of geometrical and linear patterns. The paintings of hounds, goat and bulls on some of these pots have been taken by Pandit VATS as suggestive of the hounds of Yama, and the proto-types of Anustaraṇī and Vaitaraṇī cows, on reference to the funeral hymns of the *R̥gveda*.<sup>101</sup> They no doubt show similarity of beliefs. The earth burials contained corpses, entire or fractional, accompanied generally by grave furniture, which the dead person was apparently believed to require. The funeral pottery consisted of *kalāṣa*, offerings' dishes, bowls, flasks, saucers, flat covers, vases, etc. Along with a corpse, were found the cut-pieces of the body of a goat, some ribs of the animal being in the dead man's hands. The anthropologist reports that the goat was intentionally cut to pieces; so the goat was offered as a sacrifice for the dead. Here also we find similarity with Vedic ideas.<sup>102</sup>

It would not be out of place here to refer in brief to the funerary customs prevailing in ancient times in the Near East and South India. At Susa, according to DE MORGAN, bodies were buried *dans une position quelconque*<sup>103</sup> though most often extended without any special orientation. In tombs of the al-Ubaid period at Ur, the bodies were placed in a supine extended position on a layer of potsherds.<sup>104</sup> At Nal in Baluchistan fractional burials occur side by side with complete burials,<sup>105</sup> while at Sahi Tump there are complete burials only.<sup>106</sup> The post-cremation remains at Mehi were sometimes buried in a pot and sometimes interred with funerary gifts.<sup>107</sup> The burial of the dead with food, weapons, etc., "is a custom that persists even now among some of the South Indian tribes".<sup>108</sup> In Southern India, according to Prof. BANERJI the body was not burnt even partly; there were complete interments or incomplete burials or interment of some bones only without cremation.<sup>109</sup>

The conclusion that has been reached after an examination of all the data is that it is probable that the usual method of disposing of the dead

101. *Exc. at Harappa*, pp. 207-210.

102. *Exc. at Harappa*, p. 221. The subject of funerary customs deserved a detailed treatment especially on account of the excellent comparative study presented by Pandit VATS; but exigencies of time and space necessitated a brief consideration of the problem. I intend to deal at length with the subject in my proposed book on the Indus Civilization after personally visiting the sites of excavations. Dr. ALTEKAR'S observations suggest new lines (*Annals of Bhand. O. R. I*, XXI, 1941, pp. 289-292) requiring fresh study.

103. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, XIII, 7.

104. *Antiquaries Journal*, X, p. 337 105. *MIC*, pp. 21 ff.

106. Sir Aurel STEIN, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, (Mem. Ach. Survey of India, No. 43), p. 95.

107. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Arch. Tour in Gedrosia*, pp. 155, 157 ff, 163.

108. Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR, *Hindu Ill. Weekly*, Oct. 29, 1933, p. 6.

109. *Modern Review*, Sept. 1927, pp. 314, 309 resp.

in the palmy days of the Indus Civilization was cremation; that complete and fractional burials were exceptional found among the foreign elements from the west in the population. It may be noted that no cemetery has been found at Mohenjo-Daro. In a paper contributed to the *Man in India*, Mr. B. N. DUTT has shown that the people of the Indus Valley Culture and the Vedic Aryans belonged to the same ethnic cultural group, as their modes of the disposal of the dead bear out this fact.<sup>110</sup>

We shall conclude this study by briefly noting the funeral customs of the Vedic Age. The funeral hymns are included in *Rg. X.* 15-18, representing the late Rgvedic period, and they clearly refer to cremation. Dr. WINTERNITZ, however, sees in *Rg. X.* 18. 10-13, a reference to the burial of the corpse<sup>111</sup> but that it refers to the urn-burial seems to be the most probable meaning.<sup>112</sup> It is in the later Vedic Literature, the *Atharva Veda*, and the different *Brāhmaṇas* that we find references to the different modes of burial, and later on the *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe an elaborate ritual.<sup>113</sup> This was most probably due to the fusion with the concepts of some alien elements in the Aryan population. Dr. ALTEKAR draws attention to the prevalence of divergent practices among the Vedic Aryans with regard to the disposal of the dead.<sup>114</sup> The similarity between the chronology of the different modes of the disposal of the dead among the Vedic Aryans and the Mohanjo-Daro people is worth noting; with regard to the Harappa culture, Pandit VATS observes that the affinities between the Vedic practices and those obtaining at Harappa are not yet quite clear.<sup>115</sup>

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110. *Man in India*, XVII, pp. 1-68.

111. *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. Trans), Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 96.

112. OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 571; CHANDA, *Indus Valley in the Vedic Period* (Mem. Arch. Sur. India, No. 31), p. 9.

113. CHANDA, *Indus Valley in the Vedic Period*, pp. 8-12; VENKATESVARA, *Aryan Path*, 1930, p. 12.

114. *Annals Bhand. O. R. I.*, XXI, p. 291.

115. *Exc. at Harappa*, p. 209.

# PRE-MAHĀBHĀRATA SOLAR DYNASTY

By

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IN this paper I shall discuss and reconstruct the pre-*Mahābhārata* Solar Dynasty as it stood in the days of the *Mahābhārata* war. My main object in so doing is to determine if we can plausibly explain the apparent discrepancies in the various sources which give this dynasty and to find out if we can fix up the total number of steps from Manu Vaivasvata to the Solar kings who ruled at the time of *Mahābhārata* war. Thus my scope in this paper is limited to these two points.

PARGITER has handled the subject, but his study, though very creditable, is not comparative. Dr. Sita Nath PRADHAN (in his *Chronology of Ancient India*) has thoroughly discussed the question of this dynasty from Daśaratha to Br̥hadbala (see Table I) and his achievements are really great. I shall examine here the direct line from Vaivasvata Manu to Śaṅkhaṇa, Śrutāyu and Br̥hadbala taking all the kings one by one and making a comparative study of the relevant texts from all the available sources.

For this purpose I have made out an exhaustive comparative table (Table II), noting down the pedigrees of each king as given by various *Purāṇas* and other sources. In so doing I have made use of seventeen *Purāṇas* and *Raghuvamśa*.<sup>1</sup> My method of examining this dynasty is to scrutinise and discuss the chronological order of each of the kings of the dynasty.

But before I take up this study I have to make one point clear. My estimate of the antiquity of the various Purāṇic texts, so far as this dynasty is concerned, is somewhat different from that of PARGITER. I shall, therefore, first explain my view regarding it. On casting even a cursory glance at the Table II, we find that the *Purāṇas* fall within three groups—(1) those that stop at Śrutāyu—they are *Mt*,<sup>2</sup> *Pm*, *Ag*, *Km*, *Lg*, *Sr*, (2) those that stop at Br̥hadbala—they are *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh* and *Gd*, (3) those that stop at Śaṅkhaṇa—they are *Br*, and *Hr*. (*Br*'s last king should be Śaṅkhaṇa and not Anala or Nala as the comparison with *Hr* text shows. Moreover *Hr* text seems to come down to Br̥hadbala, but it is evident that kings from Puṣya

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1. I have not taken into consideration the lists given in *Mbh* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as they are incomplete lists.

2. Abbreviations : *Mt* = *Matsya*, *Pm* = *Padma*, *Ag* = *Agni*, *Km* = *Kūrma*, *Lg* = *Linga*, *Sr* = *Saura*, *Vy* = *Vāyu*, *Bd* = *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bg* = *Bhāgavata*, *Vn* = *Viṣṇu*, *Bh* = *Bhaviṣya*, *Gd* = *Garuḍa*, *Br* = *Brahma*, *Hr* = *Harivamśa*, *Sv* = *Śiva*, *Bdh* = *Bṛhaddharma*, *Kl* = *Kalki*, *Rm* = *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mbh* = *Mahābhārata*.

to Bṛhadbala are purely later additions there.) *Sv*, *Bdh*, *Kl*, *Rm*, are not taken into account in this grouping.

But though apparently we get these three groups, there are really two original groups only. Dr. PRADHAN has very successfully shown that those *Purāṇas* that come down to Bṛhadbala wrongly append the kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala after Hiranyanābha. He has shown that these kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala belong to Lava branch of Śrāvasti Ikṣvākus and form a collateral branch to the main Kuśa line running upto Śaṅkhaṇa (See Table I). For reasons to be discussed later, I take out the two or three kings usually put after Śaṅkhaṇa and before Puṣya in these lists (*Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh*, *Gd*). I, therefore, suggest that all these *Purāṇas* originally stopped at Śaṅkhaṇa. Therefore there are only two original groups of *Purāṇas*—those that stop at Śrutāyu and those that stop at Śaṅkhaṇa. Really speaking all the *Purāṇas* stopped originally at the *Mahābhārata* war. Śrutāyu and Bṛhadbala were killed in that war, therefore they must be at the same step from Manu. Śaṅkhaṇa, too must have taken part in the war as his grandfather Uktha was still living at the time of the war. Thus all the lists originally stopped at the same step and they formed two original groups.

I shall call the first group the *Ag-Mt* group and the second group the *Br-Vy* group. After thus knowing that all the *Purāṇas* of the *Br-Vy* group originally formed one group, we can further sub-divide that group into two. These two sub-groups will have (1) those that stop at Śaṅkhaṇa—they are *Br-Hr* sub-group, and (2) those that stop at *Bṛhadbala*—they are *Vy-Bd* sub-group.

Again, on examining the texts of all the *Purāṇas* we find that out of the *Ag-Mt* group, *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* have more or less the same version, but *Km* and *Lg* differ greatly. They go sometimes with the *Ag-Mt* group and sometimes with the *Vy-Bd* sub-group. About *Lg* we find that (1) it follows *Mt* upto Sambhūta, (2) then it follows *Vy-Bd* sub-group upto Ahinagu and (3) then it follows *Mt* upto Śrutāyu. About *Km* we find that (1) it follows *Mt* upto Sambhūta, (2) then it follows *Vy-Bd* upto Rohita, (3) then it follows *Mt* upto Kalmāṣapāda, (4) then it follows *Vy-Bd* upto Ahinagu and (5) then it follows *Mt* upto Śrutāyu.

Again the text-collations show that *Sv* (which really stops at Ahinagu though two more kings are given after him in the present text) goes with *Br-Hr* sub-group, *Bdh* goes with *Bg*, *Rg* and *Kl* go with the *Vy-Bd* sub-group, *Sr* follows *Lg*, and *Rm* has independent version by itself, which is worthless. Thus we have the following groups :

GROUP I : *Ag-Mt* group comprising *Ag*, *Mt*, *Pm*, *Sr*, *Km*, *Lg* : but out of these *Km* and *Lg* and therefore *Sr* also sometimes follow this group and sometimes *Vy-Bd* sub-group. *Ag*-text is more akin to *Br-Hr* texts at many places, but on the whole it has greater affinities with *Mt* and *Km*. In fact it seems to be the original of this group.

GROUP II : Sub-group I—*Br-Hr* sub-group having *Br*, *Hr*, *Sv*, and Sub-group II—*Vy-Bd* sub-group having *Vy*, *Bd*, *Vn*, *Bg*, *Bh*, *Gd*, *Bdh*, *Rg*, *Kl*.

Out of these various groups, so far as the version of the pre-*Mahābhārata* Solar dynasty is concerned, I find that the *Br-Hr-Sv* versions are most reliable ; and it is natural. For, from another point of view it is possible to divide the *Purāṇas* into two broad groups of (1) those that give the Kali dynasties and (2) those that do not give the Kali dynasties. Out of these, those that do not give the Kali dynasties are more likely to be earlier and more likely to preserve comparatively untampered texts. We find that *Br*, *Hr*, *Sv*, *Ag*, *Pm*, *Km* and *Lg* do not give the Kali dynasties, while *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh*, *Gd*, and *Mt* give the Kali dynasties. But so far as the pre-*Mahābhārata* Solar dynasty is concerned, *Mt* goes with the first group above, because in that *Purāṇa* the Kali dynasties are not dealt with in continuation of pre-Kali dynasties. For, in the *Mt*, the pre-Kali dynasty stops at Śrutāyu and the Kali dynasty starts with Bṛhadbala. This discrepancy by itself, and also the fact that the dynasty upto Śrutāyu is dealt with in the Adhyāya 11-12, and the Kali dynasties are dealt with in the Adhyāyas 271 ff, go to show that these dynasties are compiled by two different hands and at two different periods.

But even out of those *Purāṇas* that give the pre-Kali dynasties only, I have found that *Br-Hr-Sv* texts are the best and the earliest.

All this will show that in fixing the authenticity of a king or kings in these lists, we can take this as the general rule that a king who is attested by any two groups out of the above three groups (Group I and two sub-groups of Group II), may be taken as genuine, and a king who is supported by only one group may be taken as spurious. In what follows now, I shall take this as the general guiding rule, though exceptions are likely to occur.

Keeping all this in mind we shall now examine this dynasty in details. In so doing it will be convenient, if we divide the whole line into the following groups of kings : (as given in the first column of Table II).

- (1) From Manu to Trasadasyu
- (2) From Trasadasyu to Rohita
- (3) From Rohita to Vṛka
- (4) From Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda
- (5) From Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma
- (6) From Rāma to the end.

(1) Let us consider the group from Manu to Trasadasyu. It will be seen that Trasadasyu's number is 22nd in all the *Purāṇas* except *Bh*, *Km*, *Pm* and *Ag*. On examining these 21 or 22 kings we find the following noteworthy points :

(a) *Bh* is alone in putting Ripuñjaya between Vikukṣi and Kakutscha ; and as this insertion is not warranted by any other text, we can set it aside.<sup>3</sup> The mistake is likely to have arisen thus : Some *Purāṇas* give Parañjaya or Purañjaya as an epithet of Kakutscha.<sup>4</sup> That epithet is here changed to Ripuñjaya and taken as a separate king-name.

(b) At the fifth step we meet with a difference in name. The *Ag* group calls the king Suyodhana and the *Br* group calls him Anenā. But the names are not material to my enquiry, which is chiefly concerned with the order and number of the kings.

(c) There are many variations of the names of the 7th and the 8th kings. Even the *Purāṇas* of the same group differ in their spellings. This is evidently caused by the scribes and we may adopt any name.

(d) Once again *Bh* is alone in inserting Bhadrāśva between Ārdra and Yuvanāśva I. Bhadrāśva, therefore, is to be dropped.

(e) The name Śrāvasta is variously spelt ; but we know that the real spelling should be Śrāvasta.

(f) Then there comes a real difference at the 14th step. Here the *Ag-Mt* group (with *Ag*'s exception) makes Prāmōda the son of Dṛdhāśva and Haryaśva to be Pramōda's son. But in this, those that add Pramōda are wrong. Their mistake is caused by misunderstanding the original text, which is preserved in *Ag*. *Ag* reads (273rd).

धुन्धुभारात्त्रयो भूपा दृढाश्चो दण्ड एव च ।

कपिलोऽथ दृढाश्चातु हयश्च प्रमोदकः ॥ २२

हयश्चाच निकुम्भो etc.

Evidently according to *Ag*, both Haryaśva and Pramōda(ka) were the sons of Dṛdhāśva. But the other *Purāṇas* misunderstanding the text, have made out three kings where originally there were only two. Therefore Pramōda is to be dropped from the direct list.

(g) Apart from the variations in the names of some of the kings, we find that there is a sharp difference between the groups about Prasenajit. *Ag-Mt* group along with *Gd*, omits him and *Br-Hr* sub-group as also the *Vy-Bd* sub-group (minus *Gd*) retains him. As two out of the three groups retain him and as the general *Purāṇic* tradition knows him quite well, he is to be retained.

(h) Then from Yuvanāśva II to Trasadasyu all agree, except *Gd*, which introduces Bindumahya between Māndhātā and Purukutsa. This insertion is solitary and unwarranted by all other *Purāṇas*, and therefore is to be taken

3. *Bhaviṣya*, published by the Venkatesvara Press, which is the only printed edition of the *Purāṇa* available, is not a genuine *Purāṇa* and therefore generally no weight should be attached to its statements.

4. See particularly *Bhāgavata*, which is quite explicit on the point.

out: The error seems to have arisen thus : Some *Purāṇas*<sup>6</sup> mention Bindu-matī as the queen of Māndhātā. And this name is probably misread as Bindumahya and treated as a separate king.

Therefore we can safely say that Trasadasyu's real number is 22nd as almost all the *Purāṇas* agree.

(2) We shall now take up the second group of kings from Trasadasyu to Rohita. Here there is a great deal of divergence and following are the points to consider :

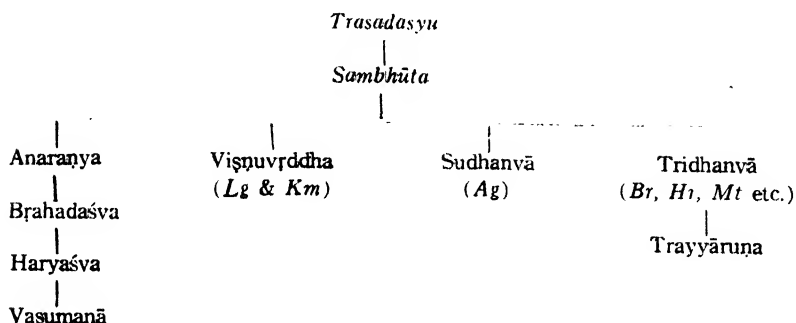
(a) Sambhūta is to be retained as he is found in all the three groups except in some *Purāṇas* belonging to the *Vy-Bd* sub-group.

(b) *Pm* is alone in putting Sambhūti as the son of Sambhūta and *Ag* and *Hr* alone in putting Sudhanvā as the son of *Sambhūta*. Both Sambhūti and Sudhanvā are therefore to be dropped. (Probably Sudhanvā and Tridhanvā were brothers).

(c) Then we come to the group of four or five Kings—Viṣṇuvṛddha, Anarāṇya, Trasadaśva, Haryaśva, and Vasumanā (with variations like Pra-sadaśva, Bṛhadaśva, Hasta and Sumanā). These are mentioned by the whole of the *Vy-Bd* sub-group and also by *Km* and *Lg* from the *Ag-Mt* group.

Out of these Viṣṇuvṛddha of *Km* is unwarranted as *Lg* is clear on the point. *Lg* makes Anarāṇya and Viṣṇuvṛddha to be the sons of Sambhūti and *Km* has evidently turned the two brothers into father and son, as the *Purāṇas* often do. So Viṣṇuvṛddha is to be ruled out.

But regarding the other kings we find that the authorities are more or less equally divided. My own idea is that the *Vy* group is not justified in putting these kings here. I would reconstruct this part of the dynasty thus :



Thus so far as I can see, kings from Anarāṇya to Vasumanā formed a collateral branch but instead they are made lineal, just as *Km* has turned the two brothers into father and son. My main reason in omitting these kings from the direct line is this that though the authorities seem to be equal-

5. See *Brahma*, *Hari* and *Bhāgavata*.

ly divided, in reality, both the *Br-Hr* sub-group and the *Ag-Mt* group omit them, for *Km* and *Lg* are not reliable generally, and particularly at this portion they have adopted *Vy-Bd* version.

(d) *Bg* is alone in omitting Tridhanvā and he is to be retained.

(e) Satyaratha is omitted by all except by *Mt*, *Pm* and *Ag*, and therefore he is to be dropped. *Br* and *Hr* give Satyarathā as the name of the wife of Satyavrata, and that name is here changed into Satyaratha and made up into a separate king.

(f) Then upto Rohita there is no difference.

Therefore, the number of Rohita is 28.

(3) Let us now consider the third group of kings from Rohita to Vṛka. Here the following points are to be considered :

(a) *Bg* is alone in putting Sudeva, and we find from other *Purāṇas*<sup>6</sup> that Vijaya and Sudeva were brothers. They are, as usual, here turned into father and son. Sudeva therefore is to be dropped.

(b) Kings from Harita to Ruruka are omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group and by *Sv*, and are retained by both the sub-groups. They are otherwise famous and known to us from other sources, and therefore are to be retained. The omission represents a real lacuna in the *Ag-Mt* texts.

Thus Vṛka's number is 33rd.

(4) The fourth group of kings is from Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda. Texts here are fairly unanimous, but the following points are to be considered. From Vṛka to Bhagīratha there is no difference.

(a) *Vn* is alone in inserting Suhotra, and he is to be dropped.

(b) Śruta is omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group only and is retained by others. He is therefore to be retained. Otherwise also he is famous.

(c) Ambarīṣa is dropped by *Bg* and *Km* ; but he, too, is famous and all the other *Purāṇas* retain him. He is therefore to be retained.

(d) Sarvakāma and Sudāsa are dropped by the *Ag-Mt* group only. They are to be retained.

Thus Kalmāṣapāda's number is 48th.

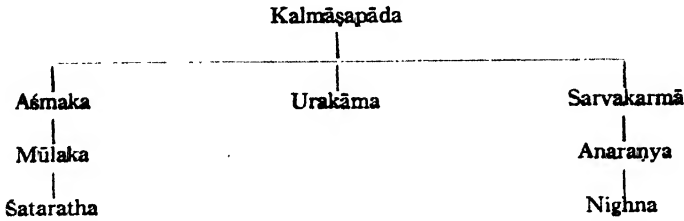
(5) Then we have to consider the group of kings from Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma. Following are the points of consideration.

(a) Let us take the three kings after Kalmāṣapāda. *Vy* is alone in mentioning Urakāma and he is to be dropped. Then there is a set of three kings. *Vy*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Gd*, *Bh*, and *Lg* name them as Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Śataratha (with variations in names), while *Mt*, *Pm*, *Ag*, *Br*, *Hr* and *Sv* name them as Sarvakarmā, Anarānya and Nighna ; but all are unanimous

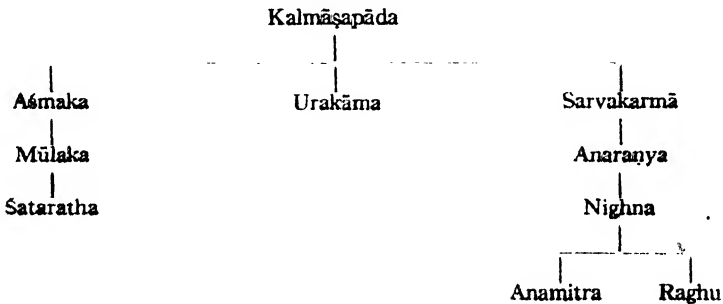
6. E.g. *Hr*. and *Vy*.



in giving these three steps here. Therefore there is no change in the total of number of kings. I would reconstruct this portion thus :



(b) Out of those *Purāṇas* which follow up Sarvakarmā line, *Mt* and *Km* make Raghu, as the son of Nighna, and *Br* and *Hr* make Anamitra as the son of Nighna. *Ag* drops this step altogether, and *Sv* drops Nighna and his son. Now, collation of texts shows here that according to *Mt* and others, Raghu and Anamitra were brothers. *Mt* clearly says that Nighna had two sons named Raghu and Anamitra, out of whom, Anamitra went to the forest and Raghu came to the throne. This last is not mentioned in *Br* and *Hr* ; but even they say that Raghu and Anamitra were brothers. Therefore both Raghu and Anamitra represent the same step. Thus the table will be



(c) Then comes Aiḍiviḍa who is variously spelt. I shall consider his case presently, but just now I shall take up the cases of Vṛddhaśarmā and Viśvasaha who are put by some between Aiḍiviḍa and Dilīpa. *Vy*, *Bd*, *Km* and *Lg* insert both these kings, but *Bg*, *Vn*, and *Gd* insert only one Viśva-mahat or Viśvasaha. But both these are unwarranted, as they are omitted by the *Br-Hr* sub-group and also by the *Ag-Mt* group. They are to be dropped. Therefore Dilīpa is to be put just after Aiḍiviḍa.

(d) We may now consider the case of Aiḍiviḍa. The word is variously spelt as Aiḍiviḍa (*Vy*, *Bg*, *Bd*), Valivila (*Km*), Ailavila (*Gd*), Ilavila (*Km* and *Lg*) and Duliduha (*Br*, *Hr*). The correct form seems to be Ailavila, as it is a metonymic from Ilavilā as pointed out by PARGITER<sup>7</sup>. He is omitted only by *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* and is mentioned by all others. But my idea is that though he is mentioned by so many *Purāṇas* as a separate king, he is

7. *Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 39, and 241.

really not a separate king. Ailavila so far as I can see, is an attribute of Dilipa Khaṭvāṅga. My reasons are these :

(1) *Mbh* mentions a king Dilipa Ailavila Khaṭvāṅga, where very clearly Ailavila is given as a metronymic adjective of Dilipa.<sup>8</sup>

(2) I think that the mistake has happened due to some misunderstanding of the text. Let us compare the texts from *Br* and *Hr*. in this connection.

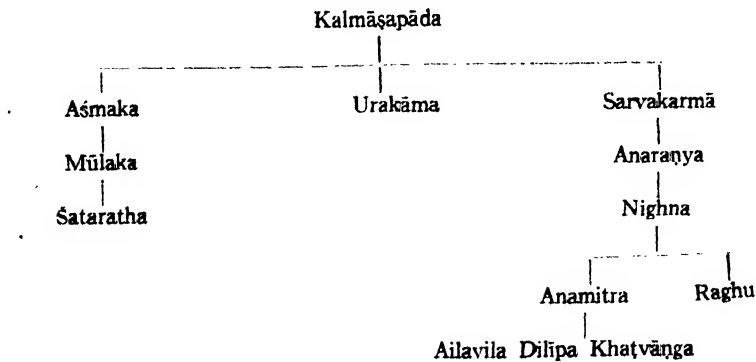
*Br* अनमित्रसुतो राजा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ॥ ८,८४  
दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामस्य प्रपितामहः ।

*Hr* अनमित्रस्य धर्मात्मा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ।  
दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रप्रपितामहः ॥ १५, २४

Here we find that *Br* text is evidently wrong. *Br* calls Dilipa to be Rāma's *prapitāmaha* but he is really Rāma's *praprapitāmaha* as *Hr* reads it. I also think that the change of '*anamitrasya*' (*Hr*) to '*anamitrasuta*' (*Br*), is not warranted. It is possible to reconstruct the *Hr* reading thus :

तस्य अनमित्रस्य तनयः धर्मात्मा विद्वान् रामप्रप्रपितामहः ऐलविलः (taking दुलिदुह as scribe's error) दिलीपः अभवत् ॥

Thus Ailavila will become a metronymic adjective of Dilipa. I therefore, take the line to stand thus :



Thus there will be four steps between Kalmāṣapāda and Ailavila Dilipa Khaṭvāṅga<sup>9</sup> II. It is probable therefore that *Vy* has added Urakāma and made four steps. It is thus significant that *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* omit Ailavila altogether.

Thus the number of Dilipa II will be 52nd.

8. See *Mbh*, VII, 55, 2170 to 70; XII, 29, 910-1037.

9. I take this Dilipa II to be the son of Anamitra and not of Raghu on the evidence of *Br*. and *Hr*. PRADHAN also has done the same thing. Later genealogy will be : Anamitra—Dilipa II—Raghu—Aja—Daśaratha—Rāma.

(e) Ajaka is inserted between Dilīpa and Dīrghabāhu by *Mt*, but is evidently a mistake as it is not supported by any other *Purāṇa*.

(f) Dīrghabāhu is recognised as an independent king by almost all except by *Br*, *Hr* *Ag*, *Sv*; and though both PARGITER and PRADHAN are in favour of recognising him as an independent king, I think that he is really not a separate king. The mistake has arisen from the misreading of the *Br* and *Hr* texts, both of which make Dīrghabāhu as an adjective of Raghu. The texts read thus :

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुनाम्ना सुतोऽभवत् । *Br* ८, ८५

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुनाम्नाऽभवत्सुतः ॥ *Hr* २५, २५

अनरण्यात् निघ्नोऽथ दिलीपस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।

तस्य राज्ञो रघुर्जज्ञे तत्सुतोऽपि ह्यजोऽभवत् ॥ *Ag*. २७३, ३२-३३.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* omits him. Evidently Kālidāsa follows the *Vy-Bd* sub-group as he goes upto Agnivarna. He does not follow *Br* or *Ag* group and yet out of the *Vy*-group list he omits Dīrghabāhu. That can mean only one thing that in the days of Kālidāsa, *Vy*-group had no Dīrghabāhu as an independent king. He is therefore a later addition and therefore to be dropped.

Therefore Rāma's Number will be 57.

(6) Last group to be considered is from Rāma to Śaṅkhaṇa, Śrutāyu and Br̥hadbala. Following are the points to be considered :

(a) From Rāma to Ahinagu there is complete unanimity, therefore Ahinagu's real number is 66.

(b) After Ahinagu the line branches off into two collateral groups, one leading to Śaṅkhaṇa and the other to Śrutāyu. *Mt*, *Pm*, *Km*, *Ag*, *Lg* follow up the branch leading to Śrutāyu and stop there. *Br* follows up the line leading to Śaṅkhaṇa and its last king is not Anala but Śaṅkhaṇa as is proved by the *Hr* text. *Hr* also follows up the line leading upto Śaṅkhaṇa, but adds some stray kings; but this attempt is so half-hearted that it evidently betrays the hand of a later interpolater. *Gd* prematurely stops at Amarṣa. *Vy*, *Bd*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh* follow up the line leading to Śaṅkhaṇa and go even further. We shall, therefore, first examine the kings from Ahinagu to Śaṅkhaṇa and Śrutāyu.

(c) There we find that Ruru, who is added by *Vn*, *Km* and *Bh* is unwarranted and therefore is to be dropped.

(d) Then the *Ag* group has six kings from Ahinagu to Śrutāyu. Thus Śrutāyu's number will be 72.

(3) Out of the others that come upto Śaṅkhaṇa, *Br*, *Hr* and *Bh* have five kings after Ahinagu (Ruru being omitted) and others have six after Ahinagu. But PRADHAN has reconstructed this portion, and *Br* version

10. It will be seen that *Ag* omits Dīrghabāhu altogether.

seems to be correct. Even *Rg* testifies to this, there being only five kings after Ahinagu. Therefore Śaṅkhaṇa's number is 71.

(f) PRADHAN has singled out the kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala as belonging to Lava branch and therefore as running collaterally with the kings from Kuśa to Śaṅkhaṇa. I shall discuss this point presently.

(g) But between Śaṅkhaṇa and Puṣya, we find two or three kings inserted by the *Vy* sub-group. They are Vyūṣitāśva, Viśvasaha and Hiranyanābha. Out of these three kings, *Bg* omits Viśvasaha and *Hr* omits all the three. *Hr* makes Vyūṣitāśva a synonym of Śaṅkhaṇa ; I, therefore, take out all these three kings from the main line. Therefore after Śaṅkhaṇa we come to Puṣya.

(h) Kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala are given by *Vy*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Bh*, *Gd* stops in the middle at Amarṣa and *Hr* interpolation comes down to Maru and puts Bṛhadbala directly after him. Therefore we shall leave *Gd* and *Hr* out of the consideration. All others agree upto Viśrutavān (only *Bh* omits Agnivama, but he is too well known to be omitted).

Then between Viśrutavān and Bṛhadbala, *Vn* has one king and *Bg* has three kings. Therefore from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala, we have 11 or 12 or 14 kings. Now PRADHAN has very ably and conclusively proved that these kings should run parallel to the kings from Kuśa to Śaṅkhaṇa. Therefore if we follow upwards from Śaṅkhaṇa, putting Bṛhadbala at the same step as Śaṅkhaṇa, we come (taking five kings after Ahinagu and not six) either to Nala or to Nabha or to Kuśa.

Any way, we should put Bṛhadbala along with Śaṅkhaṇa and therefore his number will be 71.

Thus we find that all the sources, which give us the pre-Mahābhārata Solar dynasty can be easily harmonised. At the time of the Mahābhārata war, we have kings of three Solar branches ruling, out of which Bṛhadbala and Śaṅkhaṇa are given as 71st and Śrutāyu as 72nd from Vaivasvata Manu.

Before closing this paper I wish to clarify one point. Dr. PRADHAN has (see his *CAI*, p. 145 ff) proved that kings from Kalmāṣapāda to Raghu were originally of Southern Kosala line and are interpolated in the main line at some late period. I think Dr. PRADHAN is right in saying so. But I have shown them as linear because at the time of the Mahābhārata war this interpolation was already an accomplished fact and I am here concerned with the number of kings as was fixed in the days of Mahābhārata. In my paper on the 'Manvantara-Caturyuga Method,' I have shown how and why Bṛhadbala, who was 71st at the Mahābhārata war was made 91st.<sup>11</sup>

11. In this connection the following articles of mine may be read :

(1) "The Yugas" in *Poona Orientalist*, April 1942.

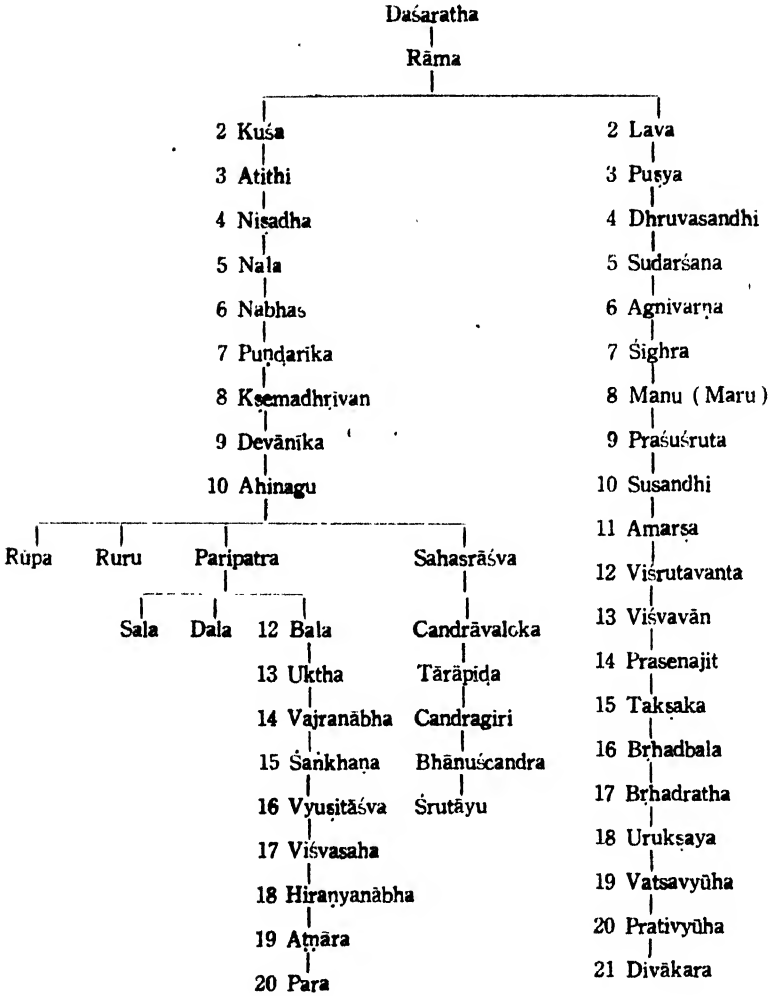
(2) "The Manvantara" to be published in *IHR*.

(3) "The Manvantara-caturyuga Method" to be published in *ABORI*.

TABLE I

[ Reproduced from 'Chronology of Ancient India' by S. N. PRADHAN ]

P. 136.



## THE CITY OF 'ALAKĀ' IN 'MEGHADŪTA'

By

Shri S. N. VYAS.

YAKṢA was a servant of the Lord Kubera. On some offence committed by him, the Lord Kubera punished him to be away from his beloved for one year. Yakṣa, thereupon, left the city of Alakā and resolved to pass his days of separation on Rāmagiri, a place in the Central Provinces.

A few days after, the month of Āṣāḍha with its overhanging clouds came and his heart began to feel the pangs of separation. He felt kinship with clouds and thought of sending a message to his beloved through them.

The *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa is a living picture of this subject. The cloud accepts the message of the love-sick Yakṣa. Kālidāsa after tracing the path of the cloud from Rāmagiri to Kailāsa mountain, says by pointing towards the north that it shall have to go by the following route to reach Alakā, the city of Yakṣas.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, curiosity arises as to where this city of Alakā, so picturesquely depicted by the great poet Kālidāsa was, and whether it is possible to trace its whereabouts geographically at present. It is the purpose of this essay to show that this city is still existent under a different name.

Rāmagiri, the place of temporary seclusion chosen by Yakṣa is certainly the place now known as Ram Tek, situated in the Central Provinces. We do not wish to discuss the correctness of this identity, as it is neither pertinent nor much in dispute. From there, the cloud-messenger, Yakṣa says, shall have to take the following path. It shall have to cross over firstly, Māladīpa<sup>2</sup> which is near about Amarkantak in the Satpuras.<sup>3</sup> Just after that the cloud-messenger shall have to cross over Āmrakūṭa which is the modern Amarkantak. Further on, Yakṣa tells the cloud to visit a very big river Revā,<sup>4</sup> flowing down below the Vindhya.<sup>5</sup>

The cloud is then asked to rest awhile on 'नीचगिरि'<sup>6</sup> after crossing over Daśārṇa.<sup>7</sup> Here, Yakṣa insists on the cloud messenger to have a view of

1. गन्तव्या ते वसतिरलका नाम यक्षेश्वराणाम्-पू. मेघ.
2. क्षेत्रमाख्य मालम्-पू. मे. (क) "मालं देशे वनेयुक्तं, मालं प्रामान्तराद्वी, मालं, मालव देशे च वसते भूमिरुद्धका." ।
3. सानुमानाप्रकूटः-पू. मेघ.
4. रेवां द्रक्ष्यत्युपलविषमे विन्ध्यपादे विशीर्णा-पू. मे., ( रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा-अमरः ).
5. Ref. No. 4.
6. नीचैराख्यं गिरिमधिवसे-पू. मेघ.
7. कतिपयदिनस्थापिईसा दशार्णाः-पू. मे.

Ujjayinī<sup>8</sup>, though it is not on the way. We have, thereafter, the description of the river Gambhīrā away from Ujjayanī and Devagiri<sup>9</sup>. The course of the cloud-messenger then leads towards Carmaṇvat<sup>10</sup>, the modern Chambal and then to Daśapura (modern Mandsoor-Dasapur). The Yakṣa then advises the cloud-messenger to visit Kurukṣetra<sup>11</sup> the epic battle-field after going over Brahmāvarta.<sup>12</sup> Further on, the cloud-messenger is asked to be the guest of the mount Kailāsa<sup>13</sup> on the Himalayas after visiting the river Sarasvatī and drinking the sacred water of the Ganges at Kanakhala<sup>14</sup>. In order that the cloud-messenger might recognise the city of Alakā from the height, the Yakṣa says to the cloud that this city would appear lying on low plains because of the mountains. He further adds that from the height of the mount Kailāsa the city would appear like a beloved who had forgotten herself, lying in the lap of her lover. This city is described as on a very high plain, touching the sky and full of high mansions with seven stories. The cloud-messenger, he says, cannot certainly miss such a conspicuous city<sup>15</sup>. It is evident from this that Alakā is not situated on the Kailāsa, but it is one that can be so viewed from Kailāsa. It is in the northern direction from Rāmagiri, full of high mansions and where sweet odour of the flowers growing in different seasons permeates all over the year. In this city, only those who possess wealth amounting to one billion rupees can live. There is a beautiful garden Vaibhṛājaka by name in the city and here wine is produced from Kalpa-vṛkṣas.<sup>16</sup> We shall try to trace out a city of identical description geographically.

The facts are that Kubera is the Lord of Yakṣas and the city of Alakā, where he resides can be seen from the Kailāsa mountain and that the Yakṣas are very rich people, hence they are called 'विनेश'<sup>17</sup> and that the Lord of

8. वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां सीधोत्संगप्रणयविमुखो मा स्म भूञ्जयिन्या :—  
पू. मे.

9. गंभीरायाः पयसि सरितश्चेतसीव प्रमत्ने—पू. मे., ( क ) तत्र स्कन्दं नियतवसतिम् } पू. मे.  
( ख ) देवपूर्वगिरिं ते.

10. दशपुरवधूनेत्रकौतूहलानि,—पू. मे.

11. क्षेत्रं क्षत्रप्रधनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्भुजेथाः—पू. मे.

12. ब्रह्मावर्तं जनपदमथ च्छायया गाहमानः—पू. मे. } सरस्वतीं द्रष्टव्यो देवनद्योर्दंतरम् ।  
} तं देव निर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ।

13. कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनितादर्पणस्यातिथिः स्याः—पू. मे.

14. तस्माद्गच्छेनुकनखलं शैलराजावतीर्णं—पू. मे.

15. विमानोऽस्त्रि, देवयाने सपृभूसौ च सद्यनि—यादवः, ( क ) यद्विमानाग्रभूमिः—उ. मेघ.

16. 'चैत्ररथ' ( अस्थोद्यानं चैत्ररथं अमर. )

—वैभ्राजेन गणेन्द्रेण ख्यातं वैभ्राजमाख्यया—शंभुरहस्ये.

17. वितेशानां न च सङ्ख्येयौ यौवनादन्यदस्ति,—उ. मे.

( क. ) वितेशिबः कुबेरः स्यात्प्रभौ धनिकयक्षयोः—शब्दार्णव.

Yakṣas punished our hero that he should separate himself from his beloved for one year.

We shall now try to prove that the city of Alakā is Suvarṇa-giri near Jalore in Marwar. At present it is a known place of Jain pilgrimage.

Suvarṇa-giri was once inhabited by very rich people. Merutuṅg-Sūri in his *Vicāra Sreṇī*<sup>18</sup> writes as follows regarding this city, "on the peak of Suvarṇa-giri near Jalpur, where men possessing even 99 million rupees could not get place to live, a big palace Yakṣa-Vasati by name, of Mahāvīra Svāmi was built<sup>19</sup>."

We want to note here that this place was inhabited by only those who possessed full one billion rupees. No one possessing less than that was allowed to live there. The words Yakṣa-Vasati indicate that this place was the abode of Yakṣas. Moreover, this point gets justification from an old tale.<sup>20</sup>

The king 'Nāiḍa' named in the above *Gāthā* was the fourth descendant of Vikrama according to the opinion of Merutuṅga Sūri<sup>21</sup>. We conclude that since the king Nāiḍa reigned from v. s. 116-135, the Yakṣa-Vasati palace may be said to have existed at the same period.

\* We read a similar description of the grandeur and prosperity of this place from *Buddhi Sāgara*, a grammatical work, by Buddhisāgara Sūri.

Col. Tod also speaks about this existing in a prosperous and independent state. He traces the independent status of Jalore till the reign of Khuman who reigned from v.s. 868-892.

From all this we gather that Suvarṇa-giri existed in old days, where people of immense wealth lived and which was beautified by big mansions. So also, the well-known palace Yakṣa-Vasati was situated in it. This place (Suvarṇa-giri) is in the north and is situated on a high level as described by Kālidāsa 'तुंगमञ्जलिहारा' and (which) contains seven-storied buildings.

It is said that Yakṣa drank wine produced from Kalpa-vṛkṣa which was called Ratiphala. Kalpa-vṛkṣa mentioned therein, it is to be noted, is not the celestial tree. A book named *Madirātṇava Grantha* gives a method of preparing this wine named Ratiphala.<sup>22</sup> This wine is prepared out of many

(ख) कपोलपालिं तव तन्वि मन्ये  
लावण्यधन्ये दिशमुत्तरालयाम् ।  
विभाति यस्यां ललितालकायां  
मनोहरा वैश्रवणस्य लक्ष्मीः ॥—भामिनीविलास. २-९.

18. विचारश्रेणी (P. 3)

19. विचारश्रेणी (P. 3)

20. नवनवद्वल्लक्षणवर्ग इल्लववाहे सुवर्णागिरिसिहरे, नाइडनिवि कालीणं धुगिरीं जक्ख वसहीए.

21. See Ref. No. 19. —'विक्रमस्य राज्यं ६० वर्षाणि, ततस्तत्पुत्रस्य विक्रमचरित्रापरनामो धर्मादित्यस्य राज्यं ४० वर्षाणि, ततो भाइलस्य ११ ततो नाइलस्य १४ वर्षाणि, यस्य वारके नवनवतिल्लक्षणपतिभिरप्राप्तनिवासे जालपुरसमीपस्थे सुवर्णागिरि-शिखरे श्रीमद्वा-वीरसनाथो यक्षवसत्याख्यो महाप्रासादो निष्पन्नः ।'

22. रतिफलं कल्पवृक्षप्रसृतं—ड. मेघ.



herbs and trees, which flower in different seasons and are to be found on this mountainous region.<sup>23</sup> The flowers which are mentioned to be found in Alakā cannot be found on the cold heights of Himalayas. They blossom only in the temperate climate : the *kunda* flowers in Hemanta, the *Siriṣa* in Grīṣma, the *Kadambas* in Varṣa, the *Lodhnas* in Śiśira and the *Kurabaka* in Vasanta. These flowers are said to bloom all over the year in Alakā. If this city were on the Himalayas, these flowers could never have been found altogether throughout the year in that cold region.

Again, when Kālidāsa describes Himālaya and the Kailāsa mountain he rightly speaks of snow-falls and hail-storms ; while in the descriptions of Alakā, he only speaks of rainfall and nothing more. Kālidāsa is not expected to bring Alakā on Himalayas with all the description of its fauna and flora. He was a keen observer of nature. He cannot commit such a mistake. He tells the cloud messenger, "wake up my beloved by your cool breeze which is mixed with small drops of water." He gives the same injunction in relation with Jasmine creeper. Can this be the description of a place situated on Himālaya ? Kālidāsa could not have meant any other city than Suvamṇa-giri, situated in the north, full of cloud kissing mansions. Yakṣa tells the cloud-messenger that in his city the land is full of golden sand.<sup>24</sup> Such type of sand cannot be found on the Kailāsa mountain. The place which we have identified with Alakā contains such a type of sand, even now on this mountain Suvamṇa-mākṣika stones are found.

Kālidāsa mentions the existence of a Vāpi-Kadali and flowering trees near the Yakṣa's residence. Even to this day this Vāpi stands with flowering trees all around the border attracting eyes of a visitor.

Yakṣa-Rāja Kubera is described as a friend of Śiva.<sup>25</sup> There is a very old Śiva temple on this mountain at present. A story goes that Kubera used to go to this temple daily to worship god Śiva. The hero of the *Meghadūta* was on duty to pluck one lotus flower daily for Kubera, his lord, who made an offering of it to the God Śiva. Once the Yakṣa forgot to do this, being too much absorbed in his beloved. This was the offence for which he had to remain separate from his beloved for one year. The lord Kubera ordered him to go just in the opposite direction of Alakā—on Rāmagiri (just in the south of Alakā) and spend his time. It is possible that Suvamṇa-giri is called as beautiful as Kailāsa because of the Śiva temple on it.

Due to all these reasons, we are led to conclude that the modern Suvamṇa-giri can justly be identified with the old Alakā.

This place is situated near Jalore, a place 70 miles to the south of Jodhpur. Jalore lies at the foot of the Suvamṇa-giri mountain.

23. तालक्षीरसिताऽमृतामलगुडोन्मत्तास्थिकालाह्वया दर्वैद्रिदुममोरटेक्षुकदलीगुग्गुलुप्रसूनैर्युतम्  
इत्थं चेन्मधुपुष्पभंगयुपचितं पुष्पद्रुमूलावृतं, काथेन स्मरदीपनं रतिफलाख्यं स्वादु शीतं मधु. ॥  
—मदिराणवे.

24. कनकसितामुष्टिनिक्षेप गूढैः—उ. मेघ.

25. कुबेरस्यैव कसलो यक्षराट्—अमरः ।

## THE BOOK IN INDIA\*

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

I AM indebted to the organisers of the All-India Library Conference for inviting me to open this Exhibition of 'Book in India'. Incidentally I am grateful to them for giving me an opportunity, though for a brief moment to tear myself away from the problems of this mad modern world, from the tales of massacres and surrenders, of scorched earth and defiled Heaven, to the joys of literary and artistic achievement.

I have always worshipped at the shrine of the Word, the Word which moves and creates. So far as human life is concerned I subscribe to the opinion of Saint John : " In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God ".

The romance of the Word is the most fascinating of all romances. It was born in the throat of some early ancestor of ours in the Late Cenozoic period as a laborious repetition of grunts and growls expressing some crude sentiment of fear or sex. After the lapse of an incalculable period of time the Word transformed the destiny of man when some enterprising cave-dweller while drawing a picture of some memorable hunt was inspired to draw a graphic presentation of an object in such a manner that it represented an idea connected with the object itself.

The picture writing of the pre-historic period then became the highest achievement of man. Such pictograms were, after ages, developed into the art of writing, when a picture was used not merely to represent an idea associated with the object drawn, but to represent a sound. The next triumph was achieved when, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, a system of phonetics was adopted in which a picture stood for the sound of each syllable of the name.

The Egyptians and the Babylonians whom we meet at the dawn of history had already developed a system of syllabics. The Egyptians who were the first to evolve hieroglyphics could be credited with the earliest books written on papyrus.

The next landmark on the Word's journey was erected by the Sumerians who are believed to have entered the Euphrates Valley with a civilisation which was centuries old and was far in advance of any contemporary civilisation, save that of Egypt. Their origin which was for long considered

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\* Address delivered on the occasion of opening "The Book in India" Exhibition on Friday, April 3, 1942 under the auspices of the Fifth All-India Library Conference, Bombay.

myſterious can now be traced to the Indus Valley, where a highly civilised people lived long before 3000 B.C.

No written documents have come to light to prove that India was the homeland of the art of writing. But the large number of seals and other articles showing a high degree of art, now discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, prove the existence of a pictographic script which still awaits decipherment.

I will not detain you with the well known achievements of the Babylonians and the Assyrians in the art of making books which, as you know, were written not only on papyrus but engraved on stones and baked clay. They were the first race, in so far as the available materials indicate, to establish libraries on a large scale.

The early Aryans, however, scorned to inscribe or engrave the immortal Word on transient material. They preferred to rely on human memory, which they converted into an undying vehicle for the transmission of culture. But the fact that the *Vedas* were not reduced to writing need not lead us to the conclusion that the art of writing was unknown in the Vedic days. Non-existence need not be fallaciously inferred from an absence of evidence available to our generation. The exact connection between the Indus Valley pictographic scripts and the ancestor of the early Indian scripts like Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī is still to be established. But before the 5th Century B.C. the Indian scripts had come to attain wonderful maturity. Their wide currency is proved by the reference to no less than sixty-four scripts in the tenth adhyāya of the *Lalitavistara*.

The script which is collectively called Brāhmī in the form in which it first makes its appearance is highly developed. The arrangement of the alphabets is strictly scientific. The principles of phonetics are properly observed. This perfection can only mark the culmination of a long-continued process of evolution of the art of writing in India.

From and after the 4th century B.C. we have the evidence of foreign visitors to India to prove that Indians used the birch-bark, cloth or the tender inner bark of trees for the purpose of writing. But the Indian climate, as contradistinguished from the climate of Egypt, has deprived us of the literary documents which the Indians of that age had indicted.

The writing materials used in later centuries were many and varied, and did not possibly undergo a change in the course of centuries. The earliest datable manuscripts on palm-leaves known are possibly a few fragments in the Godfrey collections which are assigned to the fourth century A.D. and the Horuizi Mss. of the sixth century A.D. The Chinese chronicler Hieun Tsang attests to the wide use of this material for preparing manuscripts, which were either written in ink or incised with a stilus and blackened with charcoal or soot.

*Bhūrja-patra* or the birch-bark was also widely used for the purpose. The oldest manuscript on *Bhūrja-patra* is the *Dhammapada* in Kharoṣṭhī, dated

from 1st Century A.D. The famous Bower manuscript and the Bakshali manuscripts are also written on the same material.

Another material, perhaps brought into use later, was cotton or silk cloth. A silk band written with ink was discovered by BÜHLER and a manuscript written on cloth dated v.s. 1418 (1351-52 A.D.) was found by PETERSON at Anhilvad Patan.

On rare occasions wood, skin and stones were also used as writing materials. The Bodleian library at Oxford possesses an Indian manuscript written on a wooden board. It is possible to infer from the *Vāśavadattā* of Subandhu that skins were used for writing purposes. About two dozen documents in Kharoṣṭhī were found written on leather by STEIN from Chinese Turkistan. Dramas written by the Cāhamāna king Vigraha IV and his court-poet Soma-deva are found carved on stones at Ajmer.

Paper, of course, was freely used from early times though none of the manuscripts available can be dated earlier than the 13th century A.D. But in view of the fact that Indians are known to have been making paper out of cotton since the 3rd century B.C. it is permissible to infer that books were written on it. And if it is true, as MACKAY and others surmise that there is a specimen of an ink-well found at Mohenjo Daro, the use of ink may be taken as known in the pre-historic times in India. The professional scribe was also an accepted feature of Indian life from the earliest times. He was known as *lipī-kāra* or *libīkāra* in the 4th century B.C., *divirapati* in the 7th century A.D. and *kāyastha* since the 11th century.

The manuscripts were collected and preserved in libraries, styled *Bhāratībhāṇḍāgāras* or *Sarasvatībhāṇḍāgāras*, which were attached to temples, monasteries, palaces and even to private houses of the rich. The poet Bāṇa about 620 A.D. kept his own reader and possessed a considerable private library. Hieun Tsang is said to have carried away a large number of manuscripts of 657 texts to China loaded on twenty horses. When he visited Vallabhīpura about 640 A.D. it was a city of power, wealth and culture and contained a large library of sacred books. The fame of its university had reached China; for Sthiramati, a Buddhist sādhu, in the beginning of the sixth century, and another Guṇamati, at the end of the same century were invited to China. The Śramaṇa Pūṇyopāya in 655 A.D. took away 1500 texts from India to China. King Bhoja (11th century A.D.) had a large royal library which the Caulukya Emperor Jayasimhadeva Siddharāja, after his conquest of Malwa about 1140 A.D., transferred to Anhilvad Patan. In the days of the Caulukyās of Gujarat, who were great patrons of learning, many libraries were founded. Hemacandrācārya wrote and possibly collected books and inspired his pupils to write them, and the Jaina temples treasured them in the Bhāṇḍārs. The only copy of *Devicandraguṇṭam*, the lost play by Viśākhadatta, the author of *Mudrārākṣasa*, was available to Rāmacandra, the pupil of Hemacandra from these libraries. The library of the Caulukya Viśaladeva contained the copy of the *Naiṣadhiya* on which Vidyādhara wrote

the first commentary of the poem, as also the manuscript of the *Kāma Sūtra*, according to which the *Jayamaṅgalāṭikā* was composed by Yaśodhara. This Viśaladeva collection also contained one of the manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, now deposited in the library of the University of Bonn. Vastupāla, the great Minister of the Vaghelas, was a poet and a great patron of literature. He established three libraries at a cost of eighteen crores of rupees, procured for the poets the manuscripts of literary masterpieces and helped them in the preservation of their works.

The art of writing books flourished before 1200 A.D. and was kept up thereafter. Centuries after the loss of royal patronage and despite iconoclastic zeal of Muslim invaders, BÜHLER found over 30,000 manuscripts in two Jaina libraries at Cambay and over 12,000 manuscripts in the palace library at Tanjore. A tragic catastrophe overtook India when between 1186 and 1400 A.D. a wave of vandalism destroyed hundreds of libraries and possibly hundreds of thousands of manuscripts.

But to China must go the supreme credit for discovering the art of communicating the Word in portable and popular form. The Chinese discovered the art of printing in about 202 B.C.; and the credit given to Johann GUTENBERG for doing so is a European myth. The first printed book in the form of a scroll was produced by China, in 868 A.D. nearly six centuries before the Gutenberg *Bible*.

But in India the printing press was first brought out in September 1556 by the Portuguese missionaries who set it up at the College of St. Paul at Rachol. Within two months of it they printed a theological book called *Conclusões publicas*. The father in charge of this work had an Indian assistant, who, says he, "served us very well in the galley and has shown that he understands the art of printing. . . ."

Of the early books printed in Goa, I should like to mention one *Coloq̃ios dos Simples e drogas* written by Dr. Garcia da ORSAS, a personal friend of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. The book is interesting not only for its medical and botanical knowledge but throws light on the history and social and economic conditions in the Deccan under Muslim rule in the sixteenth century.

Shivaji Maharaj set up a printing press, but as he could not get it worked he sold it in 1674 to Bhimaji PARAKH, an enterprising Kapor Bania of Gujarat who not only set it up but called out an expert printer from England.

In 1712 the Danish missionaries brought out a press from Europe and installed it at Tranquebar where they not only printed a number of books in Portuguese but soon brought out the *Apostle's Creed* entirely in Tamil. This is the first book printed in any Indian language. The same press printed the *New Testament* in 1715. The Bengali Script was first printed in 1778 by Sir Charles WILKINS who prepared a set of Bengali punches with his own

hands for founding Bengali types. The first book he did was Halhead's *Grammar of Bengali language*.

The enterprising 'Rustom Caresajee' of Bombay "in the Bazar"—presumably the Bazargate Street—printed the first calendar "for the year of our Lord 1780". The first book printed in Bombay, however, was in 1793 with the following interesting title :

*Remarks and Occurrences of Mr. Henry Becher During his Imprisonment of two years And a Half in the Dominions of Tippoo Sultan, from Whence he made his Escape. Corrected and Revised by the Author. Printed in Bombay 1793.*

The book consists of 164 pages with seven pages of Introduction and its size is 6½" by 4". The following is an extract from the Introduction :—

The Author has not dedicated this Infant Production to a Great Man or Friend in hopes of getting it recommended to the Public. It is the first Book ever printed in Bombay, and he trusts the Reader will overlook its Imperfections and Faults, with a candid eye ; and hopes he will not think his Time thrown away by the perusal of it.

The only copy of this book available in the country is in the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It was picked up at an old bookshop at Kalbadevi by Father HERAS for eight annas. It once belonged to one Sadoba Pandoorang as is distinctly legible on the title page.

Gujarati type was first moulded in Bombay in 1797 by Byramjee Jeejeebhoy CHAPGAR, an employee of the *Bombay Courier*, for the purpose of Gujarati advertisements which occasionally appeared in that paper. The first Marathi book which appeared in 1805 was a translation of Aesop's Fables under the title *Bālabodha Muktāvalī*.

The first Gujarati printing press was started in Bombay by the adventurous Fardunji Murzbanji MOBED who started journalism on a prosperous career by his daily *Mumbai Samachar*, which is still going strong. The first Gujarati calendar for the S. Y. 1871 (1814/15 A.D.) was printed in his press and was published on November 11, 1814.

In 1817 a Mission Press was started in Surat. Mehtaji DURGARAM, one of the earliest social reformers in Gujarat was the first to start a tract publishing society, the 'Pustaka Prasarak Mandali'. But the litho press which he wanted to instal in Surat met with a curious welcome. The English Collector of Surat was an arrogant representative of the ruling race. When requested by the head master of the English school to examine the students in geography and grammar he exclaimed, "What? Geography and grammar to the *Blackies!*" This man would not allow MEHTAJI to set up the press within the limits of the town. The mission press, no doubt, had worked in the town since 1817, but a press in the hands of a 'blackie' might, he thought, provide a weapon to attack the officials. MEHTAJI however remained undaunted and set it up outside the town.

Thus was ushered in India the era of the printed book.

The potency of the book has increased in India during the last fifty years. Every Indian language has its books, either original or translations, pooling together the thoughts from all parts, not only of the country, but of the globe. We have admirable book-publishing societies, to give two instances,—the Kalyan Press of Gorakhpur and the Sastā Sahitya Mandal of Delhi—which serve the purpose of all-India universities for the masses.

The printing press is the intellectual counterpart of democracy. Just as every head, however confused or idiotic, has an equal vote with that of a genius or a saint, the printing press is able to give a transient permanence—if I may use such a phrase—to any written word which passes through it. But just as democracy throws up the man of ability and integrity irrespective of rank or riches the printing press destroys the monopoly of creative art and throws open the portals of immortality to every great effort, does not matter from whom it comes.

Though the miles and miles of printing matter turned out all over the world every day at present is doomed to early oblivion, the printed book will enable the genuine Word to travel fast to all the corners of the world. Every book, therefore, is the shrine of the Word to be approached with veneration, for it contains the germ of Divinity. Books viewed in this way are more than life. For, they mould life itself ; they make it worth living. For, they alone make the heart throb and the cheeks glow, and bring the blushes, and the eye sparkles to men and women. For, when they are like the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Bible*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Shakespeare* they are majestic expressions not merely of what EMERSON calls the universal conscience, but also of that creativeness which alone ennobles, uplifts and inspires efforts in man's struggle against the sordidness of life, and against the unbridled ferocity of nature and men.

When humanity reverts to sanity and peace, the energy which is now wasted in destroying each other will be utilised for bringing the international wealth of literature to the poor and the humblest in every land ; for recapturing the might of the Word.

# “MAHEŚVARASŪRI'S JÑĀNAPAÑCAMĪ KATHĀ— A STUDY”\*

By

Professor A. S. GOPANI, M.A.

MAHEŚVARASŪRI who flourished not later than 1109 v.s. is the writer of this *Kathā* which is till now unpublished. In the colophon of the work he mentions that he was a pupil of Sajjana Upādhyāya.<sup>2</sup> No more details are found in this work or elsewhere throwing any light on the identity and achievements of this monk. The work consists of nearly two thousand verses<sup>3</sup> in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and is divided into ten Ākhyānakas; the first and the last containing five hundred verses each and the remaining eight are finished in hundred and twenty-five verses each. The title of the last Ākhyānaka is Bhavissayatta which seems to have been expanded<sup>4</sup> by Dhanapāla of the Dharkaṭa family in his famous *Bhavissayattakahā* (GOS., 20). Dr. JACOB places him tentatively in about the tenth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> But it seems more plausible that he flourished later than Maheśvarasūri and hence later than the 10th<sup>6</sup> century A.D. at least.

There are more Maheśvarasūris than one.<sup>7</sup> But they all flourished later than our Maheśvarasūri as is clear from the facts that none of them had Sajjana Upādhyāya as preceptor and the date mentioned in their works is

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1. Pandit L. B. GANDHI, *Jesalmere Bhāṇḍāgāriya Granthānām Sūci* (GOS 21), Baroda, 1923, p. 44.

2. दोपक्खुज्जोयकरो दोसासणेण वज्जिओ अमओ ।

सिरिसज्जणउज्झाओ अउव्वचंदोव्व अक्खतो ॥ १०।४९६

सीसेण तस्स कहिया दसवि कहणा इमेओ पंचमीए ।

सूरिमहेसरएणं भवियाणं बोहणद्राए ॥ १०।४९७ ॥ ( नाणपंचमी कहा )

3. मिलियाणं च दसाणवि एत्थ कहाणाण होइ विनेयं ।

गाहाणं माणेणं दोण्हि सहस्साईं गंथमं ॥ १०।५०० ॥ ( नाणपंचमी कहा )

4. See my article “*Nānapañcamī and Bhavissayattakahā*”, in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Quarterly), Vol. II, No. 1; especially p. 83.

5. JACOB, *Bhavissayatta Kahā*, Introduction, p. 6.

6. See my above-mentioned article, same page.

7. There are as many as eleven Maheśvarasūris known in the literature. See M. D. DESAI's *Jaina Sāhityaṇo Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa* (JSSI), Bombay, 1933, p. 331; p. 336; p. 431; p. 518; p. 606; see also *Limbdi Bhāṇḍāgāriya Grantha Sūci*, Bombay, 1928, p. 140; see also *Jaina Granthāvalī*, Bombay, 1965 (v.s.), p. 136; p. 312; p. 313.



definitely later than that of our writer. Still, however, there is reason to believe that the Maheśvarasūri of the Saṃjamamañjarī is the same<sup>8</sup> Maheśvarasūri who is the writer of the Kathā under discussion.

Maheśvarasūri has selected the Jñānapañcamī,<sup>9</sup> the fifth day of the bright half of Kārttika (especially) as his subject. The motif of the narrative is the attainment of good luck, birth in a noble family and lastly even emancipation through observance of the Pañcamī vow in a prescribed manner.<sup>10</sup> In all the ten Ākhyānakas, he cites ten examples of the persons to illustrate his motif.<sup>11</sup>

Later on there flourished other Jaina writers (of which Kanakakuśala, Meghavijaya and Kṣamākalyāṇa are prominent) who wrote Sanskrit *Bālāvabodhas* and something of the type on the Pañcamī.<sup>12</sup> Their works are variously known as the *Jñānapañcamī Kathā* or the *Saubhāgyapañcamī Kathā* or the *Varadatta Guṇamañjarī Kathā*. At any rate they are in the form of short narratives hardly containing more than 170 verses. In style and diction, scholarship and study, their authors are far inferior to the reputed author of our *Kathā*.

As seen in the *Kathā*, Maheśvarasūri's views regarding the Saṃgha are interesting and matter-of-fact.<sup>13</sup> With pointedness all his own he says that by respecting the Saṃgha, knowledge is automatically respected. It is the

8. See DESAI, *JSSI*, p. 331.

9. दुविहाए पंचमीए कालपुरिसं विहाणगहणं च ।

उज्जवणं फलभावं गाहाहिं महेसरवो भणइ ॥ ११२ ॥ (नाणपंचमी कहा)

10. सोहमं कुलजम्मो वाहिबिमुखो पियजणसंजोगो ।

बंधणमुयणं विहवो करचरणच्छीण तहभावो ॥ ११२८ ॥

दीवंतरंमि सोक्खं विम्वयजणं समत्थलोयण ।

मणुयसुरासुरसोक्खं फलं च तीसे तओ मोक्खो ॥ ११२९ ॥ (नाणपंचमी कहा)

11. जयसेण नंद भद्दा वीरो कमला गुणाणुराओ य ।

विमलो धरणो देवी भविस्सदत्तो य दाराइ ॥ ११३१ ॥ (नाणपंचमी कहा)

12. DESAI, *JSSI*, p. 591 ; p. 604 ; p. 653 ; p. 676.

13. See

अह पंचहिं हारेहिं पंचहिं रयणेहिं तहवि ठु सेट्ठं ।

संघस्स कुणइ जयं जहसत्तीए महासत्तो ॥ ११२३ ॥

संघो महाणुभावो नाणाइतियस्स जेण आहारो ।

जइज्जे तंमि उ नाणाइ जइयं होइ ॥ २४ ॥

तह उवयारपरो विठु संघो जीवस्स होइ भव्व

वच्छल्लं अणुसट्ठिं उववूहणमाइ कुणमाणो ॥ २५ ॥

अन्नं च तियसनमिओ केविलच्छीइ संजुओ विमलो ।

तित्थगरो विठु भयवं आईए वंदए संघं ॥ २६ ॥

तम्हा सइ सामत्थे संघं जएह सव्वकज्जेसु ।

पाविहि तहं उ मोक्खो भोत्तूण विसयसोक्खाइ ॥ २७ ॥ (नाणपंचमी कहा) :

Samgha that appreciates the worth of the monks and nuns and it is the Samgha which makes necessary arrangements for them to attain knowledge easily and to disseminate its seeds everywhere. Mahāvīra's genius shaped and regulated its course.<sup>14</sup> Sādhu, sādhuvi, śrāvaka and śrāvikā—these four elements of which the Samgha is composed—are made mutually responsible by this arrangement. Thus they could sound independent notes without becoming discordant and when one was even a little arrhythmic there was another to set it aright as none of the four elements could remain unaffected. Samgha organizes occasions when all can meet to exchange their ideas, to propose changes, to rectify the evils and to refuel the whole engine of the Jaina church. It is something of a tribunal that weighs pros and cons of a thing and gives encouragement or punishment as the case may be. Siddhasena Divākara—a versatile genius and a rare product of his times—was also taken to task by the Samgha for simply declaring a wish to render the Ardhamāgadhī canon into Sanskrit.<sup>15</sup> Devavācaka Kṣamāśramaṇa also pays a tribute to the fourfold Samgha.<sup>16</sup>

It must be admitted that Mahāvīra borrowed the idea of the fourfold Samgha from the Brāhmanic conception of the Varnas. But he put such original colours that the whole complexion was changed and we are not wrong if we accredit Mahāvīra with devising this religious constitution to achieve and safeguard the general good of Jainism. Thus when we read those verses of Maheśvarasūri, an unmistakable feeling of sympathy is generated in our heart for the writer and herein lies all his strength and success.

Maheśvarasūri is an advocate of the use of Prākṛit in literature. The Jainas' love for Prākṛit is phenomenal. It is as old as their history. Statements to the effect that Arhants preach in Ardhamāgadhī language<sup>17</sup> and that it is a spoken language of the gods<sup>18</sup> are sufficiently indicative of its divine character and popularity. The whole of the Jaina canon and the secular literature of intrinsic worth are all in Prākṛit and that is why it is more than often styled the language of the Jainas as Pāli is that of the Buddhists. The very fact that the Samgha ordered Siddhasena Divākara to undergo a Pārāñcika Prāyaścitta for simply expressing a desire to render the Ardhamāgadhī canon into Sanskrit shows the sacred nature of the language as well as the supreme regard the Jainas had for it. Thus almost all the writers directly or indirectly have made out a case in their works for the use of Prākṛit on the ground that it is easily understandable,<sup>19</sup> is sweet<sup>20</sup> and is

14. Mahāvīra is not the originator of the idea of the Samgha because there are clear references to Pārśvapatyaṇas in canonical works. See *Sūyagadāṅga*, 2, 7; 5: *Bhagavati*, 1, 9; 2, 5; *Rāyapaseṇiya*, 214 (all of the Āgamodaya Samiti).

15. See my English Translation of the *Sammati Tark* (Edited by Pandits SUKHLAJI and BECHARDASJI), Bombay, 1939, Introduction, p. 27.

16. *Nandi Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti), 4.

17. *Aupapātika* (Āgamodaya Samiti), p. 34; p. 77.

18. *Bhagavati* (Āgamodaya Samiti), p. 231.

19. Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaṇapāñca Kathā*, *Piṭhabandha*, verses 51, 52, 53.

20. Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*, gāthā 3.

extremely delicate.<sup>21</sup> The writer of the *Kathā* vehemently declares that Prākṛit should be used in place of Sanskrit as the language of literature.<sup>22</sup> This is an apt remark on the condition then prevailing. Sanskrit was given preference in his age much beyond limit. The common mass mind could not get the benefit of these learned people on account of their scanty knowledge of Sanskrit. Thus he believed honestly and firmly that this Brāhmanic aristocracy is not at all an effective means to be used in the education of mass mind. Therefore Maheśvarasūri ably sets forth his plea for the use of a Prakrit dialect in this *Kathā*. Prakrit not only attracted the Jainas but later on the kings like Hāla, Pravarasena and Vākpatirāja and some non-Jaina scholars like Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭatanaya (the writer of the *Lālāvati Kathā*) were also strongly inclined towards Prakrit. It has been now generally accepted that Prakrit literature is so varied in range and is so bulky<sup>23</sup> that it can well match with any first-rate literature of the world.

It is in the field of the Subhāṣitas that Maheśvarasūri is at his highest. Kaṇāda, Kapila and Kālidāsa, Vālmīki and Vyāsa, Siddhasena and Sāmantabhadra, Haribhadra and Hemacandra—all have made a free use of the Subhāṣitas in their works. But Maheśvarasūri is second to none in this respect. He is, so to say, the Pope of Prākṛit literature. His ever-expanding genius is seen in new forms in every Subhāṣita which is almost always original as it is hardly traceable. His study of human nature, womanhood and of life in general is at once intensive and extensive because the Subhāṣitas employed by him touch almost all the subjects such as religion, morality, ethics, friendship, love, womanhood, widowhood, politics, etc. It is outside the scope of this small article to study all the Subhāṣitas which are as many as five hundred. I have given some samples in the footnote and the readers may take them for what they are worth.<sup>24</sup>

21. Yāyāvariya Kavi Rajaśekhara's *Karpūramāñjarī Saṭṭaka*; see *Vajjālaggā* also.

22. सङ्ख्यकव्वस्सत्थं जेण न जाणंति मंदसुद्धीया ।

सव्वाणवि सुहबोहं तेणेमं पाइयं रइयं ॥ १।३ ॥

गूढत्थदेसिरहियं सुललियवयणेहि रइयं रम्मं ।

पाइयकव्वं लोए कस्स न हिययं सुहविइ ॥ ४ ॥

परउवयारपरेणं भासा सा होइ एत्थ भणियव्वा ।

जायइ जिए विबोहो सव्वाणवि बालमाईण ॥ ५ ॥ ( नाणपंचमी कहा )

23. See catalogues of the Mss. in the Bhāṇḍārs at Pātan, Jesalmere, Limbdī, Cambay, Sūrat, Bhāvnagar, etc.

24. बालाणं तरुणाणं लग्गइ चेत्ता सुहेण लोयाण ।

कीरंति नेयजणं यइह कंठा पक्कमंडाणं ॥ १।२४४ ॥

विहवेण जो न भुल्लइ जो न वियारं करेइ तासरे ।

सो देवाण वि पुज्जो किमंग पुण मणुयलोयस्स ॥ २।९.५ ॥

His diction is flowing ; use of pun and other rhetorical devices is happy ; the method of treating the subject is scholarly though simple and his knowledge sound and varied.

Thus when this work, which I am at present editing and translating into English for the *Bhāratiya Vidyā Series*, will be out, it will throw considerable light on the historical, linguistic and literary problems till now unsolved.

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*Continued from previous page.*

केली हासुम्मीसो पंचपयारेहिं संजुओ रम्मो ।

सो खलु कामो भणिओ अन्नो पुण रासहो कम्मो ॥ ५।६६ ॥

अंधो कुट्ठी पंगू छिन्नोदो छिन्नकननासो य ।

पदमं चिय चलिएणं वज्जेयन्वा पयस्सेणं ॥ ९।१० ॥

वरजुवइविलसिएणं गंधन्वेणं च एत्थ लोयमि ।

जस्स न हीरइ हिययं सो पसुओ अहव पुण देवो ॥ १०।२९४ ॥ (नाणपंचमो कहां).

## TWO LINGUISTIC NOTES

By

Shri HARIVALLABH BHAYANI, M.A.

### I.—A NOTE ON SOME GUJARĀTĪ REDUPLICATIVES.

AMONGST the reduplicatives that come under the category "Echo-words or Jingle Compounds" with the second alone of the two simplicia significant', those cases wherein the first rhyming element is formed by reproducing the basic vocable as a whole but with the characteristic exception of the initial consonant, can be more conveniently made up into a separate sub-class with some style like *āḍoṣi-pāḍoṣi gaṇa*, because of the greater degree of prominence of the rhyming effect. The language of the indoor popular games of Gujarat generally played by young chaps is a fruitful province for this type of reduplicatives. The words listed below are mostly game-names based either on that particular thing or action which figures in that game with prominence or on the first words of the doggerel or the formal play-dialogue that forms the basic part of the game. The meaning of the second significant element is bracketed besides the word except in cases of doubt, when it is marked with a query or is altogether omitted.

<i>akari-ṭakari</i> (ṭakari hill, heap—a instead of <i>e</i> under the influence of the alternative name <i>agali-ḡhagali</i> q. v. infra)	<i>abulā-ḡhabulā</i> (clod?)
<i>akari-bakari</i> (she-goat)	<i>aduḍa-maduḍa</i>
<i>akali-caḡali</i> (hen-sparrow)	<i>ākhala-dākhala</i>
<i>agali-ḡhagali</i> (small heap): variants <i>igali-ḡhigali</i> and by confusion with <i>ḡhigali</i> doll, <i>īgali-ḡhigali</i> .	<i>āḷā-pāḷā</i> (lines): variant <i>atiyā-pāḷiyā</i>
<i>ajāri-bajāri</i> (bajār market)	<i>āḷava-ḡḡḷava</i> (pot for ghee?)
<i>aṭakaṇ-ḡaṭkaṇ</i> : variant <i>aḡakaṇ-ḡaḡakaṇ</i> .	<i>ālakhī-pālakhī</i> (palanquin)
<i>aṭaki-maṭaki</i> (earthen pot)	<i>āṭi-phāṭi</i>
<i>aṭi-paṭi</i> (line)	<i>īpaṭi-pīpaṭi</i> (pipal tree): variant <i>pāṭi-pōpaṭi</i>
<i>aṭisa-maṭisa</i>	<i>ukaḡ-mukaḡ</i> (mukki fist)
<i>aḡakaḡ-daḡakaḡ</i> (lump?)	<i>uḡaki-duḡaki</i>
<i>aḡavaḷ-dhum</i> — <i>paḡavaḡ-dhum</i> (paḡavaḡ or <i>paravaḷ</i> vegetable of that name)	<i>uḡam-tuḡam</i>
<i>aḡi-daḡi</i> (ball): variant <i>aḡiyā-daḡiyā</i> .	<i>uḡāḡ-tuḡāḡ</i>
<i>adaṃg-jaḡaṃg</i> .	<i>uḡāḡ-guḡāḡ</i> (somersault)
<i>aṇidarā-kaṇidarā</i>	<i>usum-kusum-be</i> (kusum flower)
<i>atan-matan</i>	<i>clo-belo</i> (bel pair)
<i>anti-panti</i> (panti leaf: sk. <i>patra</i> ; cf. <i>pattu</i> , <i>pantu</i> card)	<i>m-gham</i> (slumber)
<i>abil-tabil</i>	<i>ḡḡ-ghḡḡ</i> (infatuated?)
	<i>āḡi-ḡāḡi</i> (rhinoceros?)
	<i>ogho-ḡogho</i> (block-head?)
	<i>olī-jolī</i> (bag)
	<i>aḡaki-dāḡaki</i>
	<i>ālāmaṇa-kālāmaṇa</i> (connected with <i>kālāvu</i> bloom, branch off?)

1. Vide 'Studies in the Rhythm of Old Indo-Aryan Vocables' by Dr. S. M. KATRE in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 181-211.

## II.—A NOTE ON THE GUJARĀTĪ REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SANSKRIT SECONDARY FORMATIONS IN -RŪPA-

Sanskrit verbal and nominal secondary formations in -rūpa- indicating excellence of a thing, quality or act are taught by Pāṇini in V, iii, 66 Bhaṭṭoji illustrates this rule by *paṭurūpa-* "very clever" and *pacatirūpa-* "cooks well", to which *caurarūpa-* "clever thief" is added by the Tattva-bodhinī. *Vatsarūpa-* (n.) (*Harṣacarita*) "calf", *yuktarūpa-* (*Mahābhārata*, *Śākuntala*) "quite appropriate" can be cited as further instances of the similar type. On the whole Sanskrit appears to be poor in -rūpa- formations. Still, looking to the Middle and New Indo-Aryan representative survivals of the same, it can be safely concluded that the suffix -rūpa- must have been much more productive in the late Old Indo-Aryan popular dialects. Pāli already has *gōrūpa-* [*Milindapañha*] "bull". Among others *dāsarūpa-* "servant", *dimbharūva-* "child", *ḍikkarūva-* (*ḍekk°*) "child" "son" [MEYER: *Hindu Tales*, p. 127 n. 6], *vaccharūva-* (n.) (*Somaprabha's Kumārapālāpratibodha*), *paḍḍarūva-* (n.) (*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, *Purātana-prabandha-saṃgraha*) "buffalo-calf" and *gorū* "bull" are citable from the Prakrits. The original sense of -rūpa- viz., the indication of excellence or endearment wore out in course of time and like the OIA -ka- or the NIA -ḍa- in certain of its uses, it functioned as a diminutive and in the last instance became pleonastic, though further unproductive.

Consequently, in Marāṭhī *gurū* (n.) "bull" *pākharū* (n.) "bird" *vāsarū* (n.) "calf" *lēkarū* (n.) "child" *hatrū* (n.) "elephant", in Hindi *gorū* "bull" etc.; in Bengali *sājru* etc., or in the Gujarātī words discussed below, the effect has been the extension of the corpus of the original vocable with very slight semantic change which is otherwise considerable in such cases.

Several Gujarātī examples of words ending in -ru- < -rūpa- are considered below. BLOCH remarks that in Marāṭhī the suffix is confined mainly to the names of animals. But as the Prakrit *dimbharūva-* and *ḍikkarūva-* and even the Marāṭhī *lēkarū* show, terms of relationship have also an affinity for this suffix. Gujarātī is fortunate in preserving instances which can attest to both these classes.

### Names of Animals.

1. *paṃkharū*<sup>1a</sup> (Sk. \**paṃsi-rūpa-*) "bird" besides *paṃkhi*.
2. *pāḍarū* n. (Pk. *paḍḍarū* < \**paḍḍarūva-* < Deśya *paḍḍa*<sup>2</sup> < Sk. -rūpa-) besides *pādū* < extended *paḍḍa*. The place-name *pāḍaraśingā* contains the two elements *pāḍarū* and *śing* "horn", thus literally signifying "buffalo's horn".

1a. See *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-Rāsa*, stanza 24 [*Bhāratiya Vidyā* (Hindī-Gujarātī) II. i, supplement, October, 1941.]

2. Cf. *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 374, s. v. *pāḍo*.

3. *vācharū* n. (calf) < OWR. \**vācharū* < *vācharūa* < *vācharūva* < Pk. *vaccharūva* (n.) < Sk. *valsarūpa* (n.). It is to be noted that *valsa* is masculine, while *valsarūpa* is neuter. *Vācharū* extended with the pleonastic *-ḍa* gives *vācharaḍū*, the original *u*-stem being reduced to the *a*-type in this process. Compare *pāḍara-śiṅgā* considered above. That *vācharū* is a *u*-stem, is clearly shown by the couplet occurring in a popular poem :

*koinā bālakanā bivarāvā,*  
*koinā vācharu koinā dhavarāvā*

“(young Kṛṣṇa, in mischief) would frighten somebody's children, or he would make the calves of one cow sulk quite the different cow”, wherein *vācharu* is n. plural. It may be remarked that under the influence of the direct forms in *-ū* of the neuter nouns (of Sk. *-a* type<sup>3</sup>) ending in a vocalic group, all distinctive traces of the neuters of *-uka*- type have been levelled down, only a stray form or two being preserved as fossils in earlier literature. So in reality the nasalization of the final vowel of *vācharū* etc. in 'Modern Gujarātī is quite secondary. Their origin points to such forms as *pāḍaru vācharu*, *choru*, etc. Shortening of the final *ū* is the result of the loss of quantity-distinctions in Modern Gujarātī vowels.

In the light of these considerations TURNER's derivation<sup>4</sup> of *vācharū* from Sk. *valsarā*- appears quite unacceptable.

#### *Terms of Relationship.*

4. *chorū* (n.) “child” occurs as *ū*-stem in the earlier stage of the language, and as such the derivation of the element *-rū* from *-rūpa* appears preferable to its tracing back to the suffix *-ra*- extended with *-ka*-. The obscure element *cho*- appears also in *choḍi* “girl”, *chokarū* and perh. in *chaiyū*, the latter both meaning “offspring”. TURNER connects<sup>5</sup> it with Pāli *chāpa*- created from the IE. \**skē*/ōwo-, besides *kē*/ōwo- in Sk. *śavaḥ*. The extended *a*-type seen in the doublet *chor* can be explained as a result of normalization as shown above under *vācharū*, though the alternative explanation as a development from the puzzling Pk. *choyara*- m.—to which *dikkara*- considered below can be compared—appears equally plausible.

5. *chokarū* n. *ra* m.-*ri* f.) “issue”. As *chorū* and especially *choḍi* permit us to assume an element *cho*- its extension with *-kk*- and compounding with an evolute of our *-rūpa*- would finally give us the word *chokarū* in a normalized form. But as no trace of *chokarū* being ever a *u*-stem can be found, the alternative of its being a result of extension with the suffix *-ra*- possesses equal tenability. And in all such cases e.g. *vācharū*, *chokarū*, *porā* etc. TURNER would rather assume a suffix *-ra*- as the cause of the ex-

3. See DAVE : *Gujarātī Language*, London, 1935, p. 15.

4. *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 431, s. v. *bācho*. cf. also DAVE : *Gujarātī Language*, p. 182 s. v. *vācharaḍū*.

5. *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 203, s. v. *choro*.

tension of the basic vocable, than explain them as the normalized evolutes of the *-rūpa*-formations. But the actually attested *u*-stems like *chorā*, *vācharū* etc. and the Pk. *dikkarūva*- Mar. *lēkrū* against Sk. (Lex.) *dikkāra*-, Guj. *dikara* would force us to accept the latter explanation in most of the cases.

6. *dikara* m. (°ri f.) "son". The word is of dubious origin. Sanskrit lexicons know of a *dikkara*- m. (°rikā- enlarged f.) "son". This is explained<sup>6</sup> as made up of *dik*- "direction" and *-kar*- "maker". But the artificiality of the explanation is quite patent and any doubt regarding this is set at rest by Pk. *ḍikkarūva*-<sup>7</sup> and Mar. *lēkarū* besides *lēka*, which leads us to believe that our word also contains a trace of the *-rūpa*- under its present normalized form.

7. *porā* m. (°ri f.) "son"; enlarged form *poriyā* m. (°iyā n.). TURNER considers<sup>8</sup> this to be derived from the extension of Sk. *ṛota*- with *-ra*-. But a more preferable course of evolution is Sk. \**pota-rūpa*->Pk. \**poarūva*->\**porū* normalized to *porā* etc. Instead of regarding the word *porarā* m. (°ri f., -rū n.) as a doublet of *porā* that has preserved the *y*-glide of the Pk. \**pojarūva*- it would be better to explain it as metathetically developed from *poriyā*.

8. \**bacara*- contained in *bacara-vāḷ* adj. "having many children"; besides *baccū* (OWR. *bācāū*). The latter is ultimately derived from Sk. *apatya*- n. laterly enlarged with *-ka*-. Hence \**bacara*- would go back to Sk. \**apatya-rūpa*- with the reduction of final *-u* to *-a* which is paralleled by *pādara-sīmā*, etc. As MIA. \**baccarūva*-<Sk. \**apatya-rūpa*- presents a case of the group [closed syllable + short vowel + long syllable, followed by other syllables] the initial vowel does not<sup>9</sup> receive usual compensatory lengthening consequently upon the simplification of the conjunct *-cc-*.

9. *bhāḍaru* (enlarged form *bhāḍarūḍā*) n. pl. "brothers and sisters", when compared to its simpler form *bhāḍu* clearly shows the presence of *-rūpa*- in a derived form.

10. *bairū* n. "woman, wife", *bairi* f., *baiyar* f. "wife", *bairak* adj. "feminine", besides *bāi* "woman" (extended *bāiḍi* "woman wife") can be legitimately taken as exhibiting the traces of the suffix *-rūpa*-. Here also the normalization is active; still *bairū* has somehow succeeded in retaining the original gender thereby necessitating for the expression of the strongly felt gender-sense the creation of another form *bairi* with the unmistakable feminine suffix.

6. MONIER-WILLIAMS: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899) p. 479, s. v. *dik-kara*.

7. MEYER: *Hindu Tales*, p. 127 n. 6; BLOCH: *Langue Marathe*, PARANJAPÉ'S Marāṭhi Translation, p. 459, s. v. *-rū*.

8. *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 392, s. v. *pothi*.<sup>1</sup>

9. DAVE: *Gujarātī Language*, p. 9.



11. *māvaru* (dialectal) always f. pl. "mothers", besides *mā* mother. Corresponding singular would be *\*māvar*. Sk. *\*mātṛ-rūpa* > MIA. *māūrūva* > *\*māvarūā* > *\*māvaru* > *\*māvata* can be assumed as the steps of evolution.

12. *vahuru* always f. pl. "daughters-in-law", besides *vahu* f. wife, daughter-in-law. *Vahuru*, similar in formation to *mavaru*, is to be ultimately traced to Sk. *\*vadhū-rūpa*.

13. *vahuvāru* f. "young daughter-in-law". If *\*vadhū-vāruka* does not seem satisfactory as the source-form, *\*vadhukā-rūpa* > MIA. *\*vahuā-rūha* > *vahuvāru* would be quite serviceable.

# BHARADVĀJAS' HYMNS TO AGNI\*

## (RV. VI, 1-16)

By

DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH.D. (Marburg)

VI, 13.

(Metre : Triṣṭubh.)

1. From thee, as branches from a tree, O auspicious Agni, do all auspiciousnesses spring : obedience (or, complaisance), wealth, booty in victory over the enemy, rain from heaven, (and) the flow of waters ;—which must be solicited.

2. Thou art our Bhaga, for thou (bringest) treasure for enjoyment. Like the surrounding (Vāyu), thou of wondrous splendour rulest, O Agni, like Mitra over the high Law. Thou art the distributor of much wealth, O God !

3. He, the rightful lord, kills Vṛtra [enemy] with (superior) might. The wise one distributes the booty of the Paṇi, whom thou, O Far-sighted one, Born at the right time, incitest through wealth in company with Apām Napāt.

VI, 13.

1. See *Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 709 f.

1a : V, 25, 7cd.

1b : VII, 43, 1d.

1c. One syllable too few or, perhaps, *vājo* to be read as *va-djo*.—I take *śruṣṭīh* nom. sing. as against Pp. *śruṣṭī* (instr. sing.). In case, however, *śruṣṭī* instr. is preferable it may be connected with *īḍyaḥ* : “which must be solicited with complaisance.”

1d. Cf. IX, 108, 10.—*īḍyaḥ* : GRASSMANN'S *īḍayā* is unconvincing ; OLDENBERG (*Noten* ; I, s.v.) inconclusive. Quite likely it refers collectively to the substantives in *cd*, hence masc. Cf. *īlényaḥ*—*rayiḥ* in IX, 5, 3.

2a : II, 1, 7 ; V, 16, 2. Bhaga and

*rátanam* occur together also in V, 49, 1b ; VII, 38, 1bc.—For *īṣé* see OLDENBERG *Noten*. I, s.v. ; it could also be the accented, enigmatical verbal form *īṣe*.

2b. To *párijmā* Vāyu may well be supplied, cf. VI, 4, 5.

3. Vṛtra and Paṇi are two typical enemies in the Vedic mythology ; the one of these was conquered through Indra, the other through the alliance of the Aṅgirasas and Indra : the one through the armed strength, the other through the strength of speech. Vṛtra represents the external enemy ; Paṇi the enemy of the Vipra, who is mean unto the Vedic poets. The booty of the Paṇi is the cows.

3d. Read *apa-dm*.—*hinóṣi* : Apām Napāt is said to be *āsuhéman* in II, 31, 6 ; 35, 1 ; VII, 47, 2.

4. Whoever mortal, O Son of strength, accomplishes with forethought thy inflaming with speeches, with hymns, with prayers, he, O god, Agni, gathers at will all the corn and possesses treasures.

5. These fair fames, consisting of heroic sons, mayst thou, O Agni, Son of strength, bring unto the men so that they may flourish (even) when thou with thy power givest much food in cattle to the hungry wolf (or) to the enemy.

6. An orator, O Son of strength, (be thou) unto us, a mighty one ! O Agni, give us victorious offspring and descendant ! Through all (these) speeches may I obtain abundance ! May we rejoice as excellent heroes living for a hundred winters !

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## VI, 14.

(Metres : sts. 1-5 Anuṣṭubh, st. 6 Śakvarī.)

1. Whoever mortal (renders) thoughtful worship to Agni and has delighted in him (i.e. Agni) with his thoughts,—may he first open his mouth : may he solicit strength for protection !

2. For Agni is indeed wise ; Agni the most pious Ṛṣi. The settlements of Manu invoke Agni as Hotṛ at their sacrifices.

4ab : VI, 1, 9-10 ; 2, 5 ; 5, 5 ; 15, 11 ; VII, 90, 2 ; VIII, 19, 5.—*vedyā* instr. sg. to be compared with *vedāna* of the similar notion-series in VIII, 19, 5. BLOOMFIELD (*Repet.* I, 274), agreeing with LUDWIG, changes it into *vedyā*, instr. of *védi* ("with the help of the altar"), and refers to VI, 1, 10. OLDENBERG (*Noten.*, I, s.v.) conjectures *védiṇaṣ* (= *védiā d°*) or *védi* (from *védi*) *ṇaṣ*. ROTH (*ZDMG.* 48, 679) : *vedyām*.

4c. *prāti* goes with *vāram* (so against Pp., see *Proceedings and Translations of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conf.*, p. 710.) = *prāti vāram*, or "at every time."

4d. *dhatté*, cf. *dādhānaḥ* in III, 1, 16, which passage suggests *dhānyam* instead of *dhānyām* ; see OLDENBERG, *Noten.* I, s.v.

5a : VI, 1, 12.

5c : III, 54, 15 ; VI, 1, 12.

5d. The idea is : Give the cattle for

the purposes of nourishment to our men rather than to the wolf or to the enemy. With *vāyaḥ* cf. I, 140, 9. The contrast between *vṛka* and *arī* occurs also in IX, 79, 3. There *arī* may refer to own people, *vṛka* to strangers. VI, 15, 3 differentiates the near from the distant *arī*. The *arī* may therefore mean "the enemy" or "the rival" or "the haughty, hard-hearted rich person." This last meaning perhaps suits better beside the wolf. The passage reminds one of VII, 68, 8.

6a : VI, 4, 4.

VI, 14.

1ab : IV, 8, 6.—*jujōṣa* is zeugma.

1c. *bhas* originally : "eat" "bite" but here and in VI, 59, 4 in an extended sense, "to open one's mouth."

2a. The Pāda has one syllable too few.

2c : I, 128, 8.

3. For, O Agni, the riches of the high lord rival in various ways for thy help; (and) the Āyus who are overpowering the Dasyu and are seeking to conquer the vowless (enemy) with (the observance of) the vows.

4. Agni grants the hero, the good lord, winner of waters, firm in fray, at whose sight the enemies tremble out of fear of his might.

5. For the god Agni rescues with his knowledge the mortal being from censure; (Agni) the conqueror, whose wealth is not held back: in prize-battles is not held back.

6. = VI, 2, 11.

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## VI, 15.

(Metres : sts. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-9 Jagatī ; 3, 15 Śakvari : 6 Atiśakvari ;

• 10-14, 16, 19 Triṣṭubh ; 17 Anuṣṭubh ; 18 Bṛhatī.)

1. Unto this guest of yours who wakes up with the morning light and is the lord of all settlements do I well aspire with my song. At each time of the day he, the one who is pure already at birth, longs (for the food). From ancient days the new-born one devours that which is immovable.

2. (The one) whom the Bhṛguś received well as friend, (who is well disposed) in the wood, worthy of invocation, whose flames rise high,—thou, being such, art well-pleased with Vīṭahavya ; O thou Wonderful one, thou art being celebrated day by day with praise-hymns.

3. The stanza expresses a double contrast : the rivalry of the high personages amongst one another in order to win Agni's help in a variety of ways, and the rivalry of the Aryans and the Das-yus, or of the sacrificers and the non-sacrificers (*cd*). For the rivalry in *ab* see IV, 48, 1 ; cf. further VI, 47, 9 ; VIII, 1, 4.

4*ab* : V, 25, 6 ; VI, 7, 3 ; X, 80, 1.—*apsām* : i.e. good water-places for the hearths.

5*a* : VI, 12, 6.

5*cd*. i.e. who is never miserly in granting wealth.

## VI, 15.

The Ṛṣi is Vīṭahavya. The hymn is strophic chorus-song to be recited, it appears, at the lighting of several fires ; cf. particularly st. 6:

1*b* : II, 2, 5 ; IV, 8, 1.—*ṛnjase* 1.

sing., so OLDENBERG *ZDMG.* 55, 311 ; GELDNER *Ved. Stud.* III, 33. NEISSER differently in *BB.* 27, 273 but later agrees (*Zum WR*) with OLDENBERG. *Varj-* (*ṛnj-*) is, accord. to GELDNER (*ibid.* p. 27), connected with *ṽsṛj-* and means "to show preference for." However, the meaning "to long for" "to hanker after" "to aspire unto" suits well almost in all cases. MACDONELL (*VGS.* p. 374): "to direct." *Varj-* "to procure" "to earn" is a later development.

1*c*. *śúcīḥ* to be taken with *jānuṣā*, cf. II, 1, 1. 14. So also Sāyaṇa.

1*d* : X, 27, 14.—*gārbho* to be read *gārabho* ; or one syllable too few.

2*ab* : I, 58, 6 ; II, 4, 2.—*sūdhitam* .... *dadhuḥ* like *sūbhṛtam bhṛ* in IV, 50, 7 ; VS. 8, 28. Cf. further IV, 6, 7 ; V, 3, 2 ; VIII, 23, 8.

2*b*. Once more *sūdhitam* to be taken.

2*c* : VII, 42, 4.

3. Mayst thou, as such, become a non-harming promoter of the skilful man, a subduer of the distant or near rival ! Grant, O Son of strength, unto Vīṭahavya amongst men riches and thy protection extensively : unto the Bharadvāja extensively !

4. Unto your refulgent guest, Agni, the sunlike man, the hotṛ of Manu, the good sacrificer, who—like a sage—utters heavenly words, the oblation-bearer, the divine charioteer, do I aspire with my praise-songs.

5. Who hath shone upon the earth with his pure distinctive beauty, like the dawns with their splendour ; who like the one winning advantage on the course during the fight of Etaśa, he (rushes) hither like the thirsty person in the blazing heat of the sun,—the ageless one.

6. Always worship your Agni with the samidh-fuel ; always celebrate your beloved guest ! Make the immortal one gracious towards you, through your hymns ! For, the god wins from the gods all that is desirable ; for the god wins for us respect from the gods.

7. With my praise-hymn do I praise the Agni enkindled with the samidh-fuel, the pure, purifying one (do I make) the presiding priest firmly at the sacrifice. We approach with our (words of) goodwills the wise hotṛ, the much coveted one, the guileless seer, the Jātavedas.

8. Thee, the immortal one, O Agni, they made in every age their envoy, their oblation-bearer, their adorable protector. Both gods and men have installed with homage the watchful one as the mighty lord of settlements.

9. Thou, O Agni, adorning the both (i.e. gods and men) according to laws, traversest both the worlds as an envoy of gods. When we beg for thy attention and goodwill, mayst thou become kind, protecting us three-fold !

10. Him who is fair of appearance, fair of sight, fair of movement, him who is wiser (than any other), may we who are ignorant honour ! May he who knows all the ways sacrifice ! May Agni announce our sacrifice unto the immortal (gods) !

3a. Read *bhū-uh*.

3b. = X, 115, 5b ; cf. VI, 63, 2.

3de : VI, 16, 33.

4a. Read *di-utānām*.

5c. This seems to contain an allusion to some obscure myth as in I, 61, 5.—“The one winning advantage on the course” is, according to OLDENBERG, “the sun-god.”

5d. *āpo* (LUDWIG V, 632) for *ā yó* is

unnecessary.

6a : III, 1, 2 ; VIII, 44, 1.

6d : V, 4, 3 ; VII, 2, 7.

6e : I, 36, 14 ; VI, 16, 18.

7c : VI, 5, 1 ; 11, 2 ; VIII, 44, 10.—*sumnár īmahe* also in I, 106, 4 ; cf. I, 41, 8 ; X, 93, 2.

8c. Accord. to OLDENBERG rather *mārti-āśaś ca* than *mārta-āśaś ca* ; ZDMG. 55, 313.

9b : VII, 3, 3.

11. Him, O Agni, dost thou protect and carry (across the danger), who has accomplished for thee—the seer—, O Hero, a hymn or the stimulation or the (successful) conclusion of the sacrifice : him, indeed, dost thou imbue with power and riches.

12. Protect (us), O Agni, from the jealous person ! Protect us from dishonour, O Mighty ! May all that has dirt (?) together take recourse unto thee ! In thee (is gathered) together the desirable thousandfold wealth.

13. Agni is the Hotṛ, the house-lord, he—the king. As Jātavedas he knows all generations. He who is the best sacrificer among the gods and mortals,—may he sacrifice further in accordance with the *ṛta* !

14. O Agni, as thou longest to-day (to become a priest) of the settlement, O Hotṛ of the sacrifice, O Pure-flamed,—for thou art indeed a sacrificer,—mayst thou perform the righteous (sacrifices), when thou spreadest thyself in (full) greatness ! Carry the oblations, O thou Most-youthful, which (are offered) unto thee to-day !

15. So look upon the libations duly prepared (for thee) ! May (the priest) instal thee in order to worship the two worlds ! Be favourable to us, O Bounteous one, in the strife for booty ! O Agni, may we overcome all distresses : may we overcome them with thy help !

16. O Fair-faced Agni, together with all gods be seated as the foremost upon the woolly lap, (which is) nest-like, bedewed with ghee ! Lead the sacrifice unto Savitr properly for the sacrificer !

11bc : II, 31, 7 ; VI, 13, 4 ; 16, 26 ; VIII, 4, 6.—*nīṣiti* is explained by Sāyaṇa through *saṁskāra* ; it may well mean “appetizing” “stimulation,” cf. VII, 3, 5.—*ūditi* somewhat in the sense of the later *udaya*. LUDWIG refers to the later *prāyaṇiyā* and *udayaṇiyā* *iṣṭi*.

11d : I, 83, 1 ; VI, 18, 7.

12. = VII, 4, 9.

12a : VII, 1, 15 ; 56, 19.

12cd : is not quite clear. LUDWIG thinks that the time of battle is meant. He would read *adhvasmanvāt* ; in that case : “in thy dirtless protection may all come together .... may the.... wealth gather together !” GRIFFITH : “Here let the place of darkening come upon thee....” Sāyaṇa : *pāthas* “food offered in sacrifice” ; *dhvasmanvāt* “freed from defects” (*dhvastadoṣan*). GRASSMANN : “Thy smoke-enveloped course

press forward with thee !”

12d. Cf. I, 31, 10 ; VI, 1, 5.

13b. A paraphrase of Jātavedas, cf. VIII, 39, 6 and further III, 31, 8 ; IV, 27, 1 ; VIII, 46, 12.

13c. Read *devāna-ām*.

14a. One syllable too many or *agne* to be dropped ?

14ab. *viśāh* is gen. sg. as the accent shows, not acc. pl. ; to it *hótā* from the following voc. is to be supplied.

14c. With *ṛtā yajāsi* cf. VII, 39, 1.

15a. almost = X, 53, 2b ; cf. I, 135, 4 ; VIII, 60, 4.

15b : VI, 12, 1 ; 16, 24.

15de : VI, 2, 11.

16b. Reference to “the Barhis soft like wool” (V, 5, 4).

16c : VS. 14, 2.—*ghṛtāvāt* is a favourite adj. of *yóni*.—Why *savitṛé* is not clear. Sāyaṇa here *haviṣām preta-yitṛe* but on TS. III, 5, 11, 2 *anu-ṣṭhātre yajamānāya* and similarly on Ait. Br. I, 28, 28. However, Bhā-

17. The pious priests, like the Atharvans, rub this Agni out, whom, never-erring, as he moved in winding ways, they led out of darknesses.

18. Be thou born in order to invite the gods here, in completeness for welfare ! Bring the immortal gods here who further *ṛta* ! Let the sacrifice reach the gods !

19. We have made thee, O House-lord of men, O Agni, increase with the samidh-fuel. May our domestic establishments be not defective ! Sharpen us with thy penetrating light !

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## VI, 16.

(Metres : sts. 1, 6 Vardhamānā ; 2-5, 7-26, 28-45 Gāyatrī ;  
27, 47, 48 Anuṣṭubh ; 46 Triṣṭubh.)

1. Thou, O Agni, art appointed as Hotṛ of all sacrifices by the gods amongst mankind.

2. So worship the great ones for us with thy sweet-voiced tongues at the sacrifice ! Bring the gods hither and worship them !

3. For thou, O Master, knowest truly the paths and ways at the sacrifices, O very wise Agni !

4. Now the Bharata invokes thee once more with his warriors for the sake of prosperity. He has worshipped the adorable (Agni) at the sacrifices.

5. Mayst thou (give) these many desirable (treasures) to the Soma-pressing Divodāsa, to the pious Bharadvāja !

6. Thou art an immortal envoy : bring the divine folk here whilst listening to the excellent praise-hymn of the sage !

7. Thee, the god, O Agni, do the mortals with pious thoughts invoke at the sacrifices in order to invite the gods.

8. I do worship thy beautiful sight ; and all the bounteous (patrons), who have a wish, rejoice in thy wisdom.

9. Thou art Hotṛ appointed by Manu : the wisest spokesman. O Agni, worship the divine clans !

skara on TS. : "sitting there mayst thou carry the sacrifice to Savitr, the Āditya (the sun-god), so that he may accomplish the result of the sacrifice !"

18b. Cf. IX, 96, 4.

19cd : VS. 2, 27.—*asthurī* lit. "not single-horsed", i.e. "not defective" or "not incomplete".

## VI, 16.

The character of the hymn is like that of the previous one.

1ab. Read *yajñāna-ām*, *viśveṣa-ām*.

2b. Read *jihvabhīr* (notwithstanding v.

BRADKE *Festgr. an Roth*, 125.)

2c = V, 26, 1c ; VIII, 102, 16c.

5b : VI, 31, 4.

7c = I, 15, 7c ; V, 21, 3d.

9a = I, 14, 11a.

9b = VII, 16, 9b.

10. Thou being praised, O Agni, come for invitation, for the offering of the oblations ! Sit down as Hotṛ on the barhis !

11. So we make thee grow with samidh-fuels and with ghee, O Aṅgiras ! Blaze high, O thou Most-youthful !

12. So for us, O God Agni, thou seekest to obtain far-spreading renown-winning, high, excellent heroism.

13. Thee, O Agni, did the Atharvan rub out of the lotus flower ; (thee) did the priests out of the head of the world.

14. Thee, the Vṛtra-killer, the breaker of fortresses, has also the Ṛṣi Dadhyac, son of Atharvan, enkindled.

15. Thee, the greatest Dasyu-slayer, the wealth-winner in every battle, has also Vṛṣan Pāthya enkindled.

16. Come excellently here ! I tell thee : O Agni, the other praise-hymns are only so. Mayst thou grow through *these* Soma-drops !

17. Wherever thou directest thy mind and thy higher understanding, there dost thou gain a seat for thee.

18. For, thy bounty is not (merely) a mote of the eye, O God of one party (i.e. of the devout or Aryans). Now wilt thou win (for thee) honour.

19. Agni, the Bhārata, the Vṛtra-slayer, known by many, the good protector of Divodāsa, has come.

20. For, he presents riches (rising) beyond all earthly (treasures) in greatness : he, the unconquered, unsubdued victor.

21. So, as in the past, with new and persistent glory, hast thou, O Agni, stretched thyself high with thy light.

10ab : V, 51, 5.

12 : I, 74, 9.

13a : VI, 15, 17 ; cf. VS. 11, 32 ; TS. IV, 1, 3, 2.—*puṣkara* is explained as *puṣkarapaṇa* in TS. V, 1, 4, 4. Cf. also TS. V, 2, 6, 5 ; MS. 3 p. 6, 10.

13c. Does it mean : from the sun ? So takes BERGAIGNE (II, 80) referring to X, 88, 5. On the other hand, Mah. on VS. : The priests of the whole world . . . from the head, i.e. from the head of the firesticks.

15a : I, 36, 10.

15c : I, 74, 3.

16b : I, 120, 2.—*itarā girāḥ* are the praise-hymns of the rivals ; cf. Ait.

Br. III, 49, 1.

17ab : I, 156, 4 ; 187, 6.

18a : Svet. Up. II, 7.

18b : Read *nemāna-ām*, unaccented owing to its connection with *vaso*.

18c : VI, 15, 6.

19a. Bhārata i.e. the god of the Bharatas.

19b : TB. II, 4, 1, 2.—*purucēlana* is explained by Sāyaṇa here as "all-knowing" but on TB. as "of great insight".

19c : V, 44, 13.

20a. To *pārthivā* is *vāsūni* to be supplied, cf. VI, 45, 20.

20c : VI, 18, 1 ; IX, 89, 7.

21c. VI, 6, 6.



22. For your Agni, O Friends, intonate confidently the praise-hymn and prayer ! Sing unto the master !

23. For he is the one who sits as Hotṛ with wisdom of a sage throughout the human age and is an envoy carrying oblations.

24. Unto the two kings whose governance is pure, unto the Ādityas, unto the Mārut troup, O God, worship here (and) unto the two worlds !

25. For the hungry mortal, excellent is the look of thine, (who art) the immortal one, O Agni, O Child of strength !

26. "May that giver be the best person, the rich one, who wins thee today !" — With this thought the mortal one has accomplished a praise-hymn (unto thee).

27. These are thy protégés, O Agni, who long to enjoy the complete life, who elude the niggardlinesses of the *ari*, who overcome the niggardlinesses of the *ari*.

28. May Agni pounce upon every Ātrin with his sharp flame ! Agni wins wealth for us.

29. Bring us the wealth consisting of heroic sons, O Distinguished Jātavedas ! Slay the demons, O thou exceedingly Wise !

30. Protect us from the distress, O Jātavedas, from the wicked person ! Protect us, O Sage of prayer !

31. Whosoever an evil-thinking mortal being worships (thee), O Agni, in order to bring our death ;—protect us from that distress !

32. O God, drive from us with thy tongue that evil-doer : he is the mortal who would strike us !

33. Grant thy protection in full stretch unto the Bharadvāja, O thou Victorious one, and excellent wealth, O Agni !

22. Double address : (1) of the colleagues, and (2) of one's own self. So also in V, 45, 11 ; VI, 45, 22 ; VIII, 49, 1 ; 69, 2 ; 92, 7.—If necessary, *ārca* and *gāya* could be taken as shortened 1. conj.

22b = V, 52, 4b.

23a. *mānuṣā yugā* temporal acc. (*Pāṇ.* II, 3, 5) as in I, 144, 4 ; II, 2, 2 ; V, 52, 4 ; VIII, 46, 12.

23c : I, 44, 2 ; V, 11, 4 ; VIII, 23, 6.

24a. Mitra-Varuṇa.

24b = I, 14, 3c.

24c : VI, 12, 1.

25a : II, 4, 4 ; IV, 1, 6 ; 6, 6 ; 10, 5.

26. Several constructions are possible.

It will be well to supply an *iti*. Cf. IV, 1, 1.

26a. Read *śra-ēṣṭhaḥ*.

26c : V, 81, 5 ; VI, 15, 11 ; VIII, 4, 6.

27a. Preferably to be read *tuḍ-ūtāḥ*.

27b : VI, 52, 15.

27c. *ari* either (i) "the purse-proud man, the rich upstart" or (ii) "enemy", here preferably (i).

28b : I, 86, 10.

29a : VI, 65, 6.

29b = VI, 16, 36b.

29c = IX, 63, 28c.

30ab : VII, 15, 15.

30c : I, 18, 3 ; cf. II, 23, 17b.

33a : VI, 15, 3.

34. May Agni slay the enemies wonderfully : Agni who is desirous of their riches, enkindled, bright, to whom offering is made !

35. (Agni, who is) flashing up in the imperishable womb of the mother, father of his father, sitting in the lap of *ṛta*.

36. Bring us the prayer which procures progeny, O Distinguished Jātavedas, which shines in heaven, O Agni !

37. Unto thee, whose look is lovely, have we, offering oblations, O thou Born of strength, poured fourth our hymn, O Agni !

38. Just as under the shade out of the heat of the sun, so have we come under thy protection, O Agni ! Thou who art glittering like gold.

39. Thou who, like a mighty archer, like a bull with sharp horns, O Agni, hast broken down the fortresses.

40. Whom they carry like the ring on hand, like a new-born child, the Agni, excellent sacrificer of the settlements.

41. —Bring the god here in order to invite the gods, the god who best finds out the treasures ! May he sit down in his own lap !

42. Make the dear guest, who is (newly) born into Jātavedas, the house-lord in his soft place, sharp !

43. So harness, O God Agni, those good horses of thine who readily carry according to thy will !

44. Come hither unto us ; bring the gods here to enjoy the sacrificial offerings and to drink the Soma !

35a. A paradox similar to the one in I, 95, 4 or I, 69, 2 : II, 5, 1.—*pitús pitá* occurs in I, 164, 16 but in another sense.

35c = IX, 32, 4c ; 64, 11c.

36a. *bráhma prajávat* also in IX, 86, 41 ; cf. *prajavatā vácasā* in I, 76, 4. Whether literally ("procuring progeny") or figuratively ? In VII, 67, 6 ; 84, 5 fertility is connected with prayer.

36c. *bráhman* ("sacred word" "prayer") originates in heaven like *dhi* (III, 39, 2) ; it is *deváttam* (I, 37, 4 ; VIII, 32, 27) ; *deváhitam* (V, 42, 2.4) ; *dyumnávat* (III, 29, 15), "sunlike light" (VS. 23, 48) ; which explains the use of *didáyat*. Sāyana takes *bráhman* in the sense of "food."

37. *úpa—sasṛjmáhe* cf. II, 35, 1. The expression is explained in a simile

in VIII, 35, 20.

38a : II, 33, 6.

39c : VII, 5, 3 ; 2f., X, 46, 5.

40a. LANMAN (*Nouninflect*, 547) reads *hástena*, but it is unnecessary.

40b : I, 38, 1.

40c = V, 9, 3d.

41ab. The *agnipraṇayanam*. Cf. X, 176, 2.

42. Sāyana on TS. III, 5, 11, 4 : This is uniting the two fires. Cf. further Ait. Br. I, 16, 24f. Accord. to Sāyana on Ait. Br., the new-born fire is the one rubbed out, whilst the Jātavedas is the *Āhavanīya* fire already at hand. Possibly the enkindling of a new fire from the old, cf. the next st. in TS. *ibid*.

44a : I, 31, 17.

44b. I, 135, 4.

44c = I, 14, 6c.

45. O Agni of the Bharatas, blaze high, bright, burning with eternal (flame)! Shine forth and gleam, O Ageless one !

46. Whosoever mortal would tender due honour to the god through invitation, may he invoke Agni with oblations at the sacrifice ! May he invite with homage, with hands uplifted, the Hotṛ, the true sacrificer, of the two worlds !

47. We bring unto thee, O Agni, an offering with a verse composed out of our heart. May thy oxen, bulls and kine, then, be these !

48. The gods enkindle Agni as the first, the foremost slayer of enemies : the victor through whom treasures are brought home and the demons crushed.

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46a. *máratō* or *mártio*? Perhaps the metre is not quite in order.

46ab : VIII, 102, 2.

46c = IV, 3, 1b.

46d : III, 14, 5 ; X, 79, 2.

47 : X, 91, 14 ; Āśv. Gs. I, 1, 4.

47a = V, 6, 5a.

47cd. The sense is : let our hymn be a substitute for thy oxen, etc., for an animal sacrifice.

48d. *tīlhd* should be accord. to OLDENBERG *tīlhd*.

## MISCELLANEA

### I—OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE BHAVAN

On Sunday, the 5th of October, 1941, before a large and distinguished audience Sir Sarvapalli RADHAKRISHNAN, Kt., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, performed the opening ceremony of the BHAVAN's new Buildings at Nav Gujarat, Andheri. Built on plan to meet the requirements of teaching, research and study, the new buildings also provide adequate facilities for resident scholars and students. The main building consists of one ground floor, one upper storey and a partly built-up second floor, in all containing sixteen spacious rooms, four self-sufficient residential blocks and three big halls. Adjoining are the kitchen and dining hall, the servants' quarters and the *gośālā*. The grounds covering about 12 acres are situated on the outskirts of Andheri in open surroundings and in the proximity of the Versova beach.

At the outset the secretaries presented a brief report of the origin and progress of the BHAVAN and its various activities. Shri K. M. MUNSHI, who presided on the occasion made the following introductory remarks.

"I have great pleasure in inviting Sir Sarvapalli RADHAKRISHNAN to open the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan buildings and the Hemacandracarya Memorial. We are deeply obliged to our distinguished guest for taking the trouble of coming all the way from Madras for this purpose in the present state of his health and in the midst of his multifarious activities. But we could not have opened the buildings under better auspices than of Sir Sarvapalli.

The BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, during the last three years, made good progress, thanks to the co-operation and the assistance of not only members of the Committee and of the staff, but of the large number of friends who have grudged nothing in order that the BHAVAN may flourish. To them all I offer my sincere thanks on this occasion ; particularly to Sheth Munglal GOENKA who, with one stroke of the pen, gave me literally all that he had ; to Shri Jinavijayaji MUNI and Shri Durgashanker SHASTRI, my old friends, whose mature scholarship has been placed at the disposal of the BHAVAN without practically any remuneration ; and to Dr. Manilal PATEL but for whose indefatigable energy and enthusiasm the BHAVAN would not have been able to prove the success that it is.

Today an old dream of mine has come true. Behind the SAHITYA SANSAD founded in 1922, behind the SAHITYA PARISHAD of which I had the honour to be the Vice-President from 1926 to 1937 and the President from 1937-41, and the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN founded in 1938 runs the old, old dream of a centre, not merely of Aryan learning but of Aryan culture in the truest sense of the term.

Compelled by manifold tasks it has not been possible for me to devote such attention to this idea as it requires. But of one thing I have no doubt ; that these buildings will be one big milestone in the march of that dream to full realisation.

India has no existence, no meaning, no soul if Aryan culture is not a living reality, full of promise for the whole of humanity. I have often claimed it as the only hope of the future. I am convinced that the claim is real, for the anarchy of the modern world proves not only its necessity but also its eternal strength."

Sir RADHAKRISHNAN, declaring the Buildings open, made an inspiring discourse on the ideals of *Bhāratiya Vidyā*. The speech is published on pp. 109-112 of this issue. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. DIVATIA proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Sarvapalli, which was seconded by Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI.

The gathering was then entertained to light refreshments and the function terminated in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

Several messages wishing the function success were received from eminent scholars and persons of the country. A few extracts are given below :

### MESSAGES

**Dr. Rajendraprasad, Patna :**

I need hardly assure you of my best wishes for success of the work in which the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN is engaged.

**Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta :**

The opening of the new buildings of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN in Bombay is a true occasion for joy and hope to all who are striving for the synthesis of Indian culture by bringing close together the various streams of thought, literature, faith and art which have risen separately in different provinces or among different tribes of this, our common motherland. It is peculiarly fitting that the Gujarati community who have done so much for Bombay in other spheres, should also supply to the capital of Western India a centre for the study of the special contributions of the Gurjara-rashtra and the Jaina faith to our common national heritage, within easy reach of the cultural centres of other groups of our brethren.

**Shri Rathindranath Tagore, Santiniketan :**

May the BHAVAN realize its ideals by serving the cause of Indian Culture.

**His Highness the Maharana of Lunawada :**

Wish the function brilliant success and the Institution all good luck.

**Sir Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Travancore State :**

I wish the function all success and the Institution all prosperity.

**Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Calcutta :**

I have no doubt, the BHAVAN will remain true to its ideals and will help to serve the cause of Indian Culture in a befitting manner.

**Maharajkumar, Dr. Raghubir Singh, Sitamau :**

Let me congratulate you on having been able to create such an important institution, which is sure to play a great part in creating the new Indian order.

**Dr. George S. Arundale, Adyar :**

I wish the workers of the BHAVAN all success.

**Dr. S. K. De, Professor of Sanskrit, Dacca University :**

I am deeply interested in the activities of your BHAVAN ever since its foundation.... If I cannot be bodily present, I assure you I shall be present in spirit and shall send all my best wishes for the success of the BHAVAN in the realisation of its cultural ideals.

**Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Professor of Sanskrit, University of the Punjab :**

My heartiest congratulations on the remarkable progress made so far. I offer my best wishes for the speedy realisation of all the aspirations and ideals for which the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN stands. I hope in course of time, it will become a great centre of sound scholarship and will spread the light of its learning on all the continents. May the BHAVAN surpass the splendour of both Texila and Nalanda.

**Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri, Principal, Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares :**

I send my hearty good wishes and prayers for the success of the Institution which is intended to serve the cause of Indological Studies and Researches in particular, and Indian Culture in general, an ideal cherished by all interested in India's past no less than in her future.

**Rev. Father Heras, S. J., Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay :**

I am sending herewith my sincere congratulations to all of you together with my earnest wishes for a successful future. Let the BHAVAN be like a mirror where the ancient culture of the Bhārata should always be reflected, and a source of inspiration for the development of this very culture in future generations. In particular I must congratulate my dear friend Mr. K. M. MUNSHI who now sees his efforts crowned with such an extraordinary success.

**Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Deputy Director General of Archaeology, New Delhi :**

The BHAVAN has been doing excellent work since its inception, under the able guidance of your esteemed President and other members of the Executive Committee and it is hoped that a day will soon come when it will be reckoned as a premier institution for the study of Indology of which every Indian will be genuinely proud.

**Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Professor of Ardhamagadhi, Rajaram College, Kolhapur :**

The time has arrived now when the front of Indological Research must be led by Indian institutions and scholars. I sincerely hope, and feel sure, that the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN which has come into existence at an opportune moment with the voluntary co-operation of *Sri* and *Sarasvatī*, would hold aloft the banner of *Bhāratiya Vidyā* like the Universities of Nalanda and Takṣaśilā. I wish every success to your function.

**Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, University of Madras, Madras :**

I wish the Institute all success and I am sure that it will take its due place in the field of research.

**Dr. M. H. Krishna, Professor of History, University of Mysore, and Director of Archaeology, Mysore State :**

It augurs very well that the opening should be made by Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, one of the greatest contemporary leaders of Indian thought. May the Institution prosper and help to spread a true knowledge of Indian Culture.

**Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta :**

One such virtue is research work for the sake of finding out and telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, without caring for fame or desiring to be in the lime light. I have no doubt this virtue will be developed in the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN under your auspices.

**Dr. Vasudeo Gokhale, Fergusson College, Poona :**

True to its ideal may your Institution seek to attain Immortality through its power of knowledge.

**Prof. P. K. Gode, B. O. R. I., Poona.**

Ever since your President, Shri K. M. MUNSHI, launched the scheme of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, I have been deeply interested in the increasing progress of the BHAVAN, which will now find a permanent "local habitation" in its New Buildings and make splendid progress in the years to come. In Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Kt., D. Litt., who will perform the opening ceremony of your Build-

ings, you have found a guide, friend and philosopher whose association with all the academic aspirations of the BHAVAN is a happy augury for its future growth and expansion.

**Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi, Calcutta :**

I wish the BHAVAN progressive success.

**Principal A. K. Chanda, Santiniketan :**

May the Institution fulfil its best ideals.

**Dr. P. T. Raju, Shastri, Andhra University, Waltair :**

The BHAVAN is already well-known for its excellent work. I fully believe that it will become one of the great centres of Indological studies in India, under the Presidency of the forceful personality of Shri K. M. MUNSHI. My best wishes are for the prosperity of your Institution, about the future of which I hold highest hopes.

**Professor Kshetreshachandra Chattopadhyaya, Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad :**

May your studies prosper and bring glory to Bhāratamātā.

**Principal M. M. Z. Ahmad, Bahauddin College, Junagadh :**

I wish the function all success.

**Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Professor of Sanskrit and Allied Languages, Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona :**

I very much regret to inform you that I miss very much the opportunity to be there to watch a very important milestone in the progress of Indological studies.

**The Registrar, Muslim University, Aligarh :**

Wish the function every success.

**The Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference :**

Please accept and convey the best wishes of the All-India Oriental Conference to the President and Executive Committee of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN on this happy occasion and for strengthening the cause of Oriental Research which is our common goal.

**The Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda :**

The BHAVAN within a short time of its existence has already become a reputed centre of Oriental Learning in Western India. I trust and hope that the BHAVAN in its new haven will continue to live a glorious life and show to all the world the great height Indian scholarship is capable of reaching.

**The Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona :**

The authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, wish the function all success and convey to the authorities and well-wishers of the BHAVAN our heartfelt greetings on this auspicious occasion which is made all the more auspicious by the presence of Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN, the true herald of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* both in the East and the West.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the elder sister of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, feels proud of the aspirations and achievements of her sister and wishes her long life and prosperity.

## II—GUJARATI SAHITYA PARISHAD

The Fourteenth Session of the Gujarati Literary Conference (Gujarati Sahitya Parishad) took place at Andheri in the Buildings of Hansraj Morarji Public School on October 4 and 5, 1941. A brief report of deliberations of the Session is given below.

The well-known poet and litterateur Shri A. F. Khabardar was elected General President of the Session. As Sectional Presidents the under-mentioned gentlemen were duly elected.

1. Shri Ramanlal V. DESAI—Literature.
2. Dr. D. G. VYAS—Art.
3. Professor K. H. KAMDAR—History and Archæology
4. Professor Rasiklal PARIKH—Philosophy.
5. Professor C. N. VAKIL—Economics and Sociology.
6. Professor Vishnuprasad R. TRIVEDI—Philology.
7. Shri Chunilal V. SHAH—Journalism.
8. Principal Bhailal S. PATEL—Science.

Although the actual Session of the Conference was announced to be held in the afternoon of the 4th October 1941, the delegates and visitors began to arrive on the 3rd October. An Art Exhibition which was held as an added activity of the Conference was opened in the afternoon of October 3, 1941 by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. DIVATIA before a distinguished gathering.

The Exhibition with well over 500 Art-exhibits collected from all over Gujarat was a great success. It represented to a great extent the progress that art has made in Gujarat and, appropriately enough, it offered an opportunity of comparing its progress with that of literature in Gujarat.

The next morning, on October 4, the business meetings of the Central Governing Body of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad and the Annual Meeting of its members took place. Spontaneous tributes were paid to Shri K. M. MUNSHI, the retiring President of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, whose dynamic leadership in the domain of Gujarati literature has left many an impressive mark. Indeed, his term of Presidentship is an important milestone in the life of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad since three events of outstanding importance occurred during his tenure, namely, (i) the celebration of Shri Haima-Sārasvata-Satra at Patna, (ii) the foundation of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (iii) the establishment of a chair of Gujarati language and literature in the said Bhavan, named, Shri Narmad Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Shikshapitha, under the auspices of which research and literary publications of the Parishad are organized.

It may be mentioned here that ever since Shri K. M. MUNSHI began to take an active interest in the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, particularly during the last 15 years of his Vice-Presidentship of the said body, he has been serving the cause of Gujarati Literature in general and of the Parishad in particular with untiring zeal and enthusiasm.

The Annual Meeting of the members of the Parishad resolved, among other things, to continue Shri Narmad Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Shikshapitha in the Bhavan under certain conditions.

The plenary session of the Conference began in the afternoon of October 4, 1941, when, after the singing of appropriate songs, Shri V. L. MEHTA, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the President and the guests of the Conference in a neat little speech. Then Shri A. F. Khabardar delivered his presidential address. The Session was very well attended and included a large number of delegates from all over Gujarat, including several leading writers, poets, journalists, critics and other Gujarati notabilities of the Province.



Shri KHABARDAR'S address contained many thought-provoking remarks on the present trends in Gujarati literature and the future thereof. He spoke at length on the vagaries and indifference of some Gujarati writers, the urgent need of reform of our present educational system wherein the mother-tongue of the child and its literature are somewhat neglected, and warned of the evils of partisanship among the critics and of the growing tendency of considering all printed matter as literature. The President also paid well-deserved tributes to the late Poet TAGORE and His Highness Shri Sayajirao GAEKWAR of Baroda and a number of Gujarati writers who passed away during the period between the last session held at Karachi and this one.

After the close of the presidential address, several sectional presidents read extracts from their own addresses, the printed copies of which were distributed among the audience.

In the evening Shri Gokuldas RAICHURA and Shri Merubha GADHVI entertained the audience with recitation of Dohas and stories from the folk-literature of Gujarat. A dinner party to the President, delegates and guests of the Parishad given by Shri K. M. MUNSHI and Shrimati Lilavati MUNSHI brought the day's activities to a delightful close.

The Subjects Committee Meeting and the reading of presidential addresses of the remaining sectional-presidents occupied the whole of the Sunday morning. The famous film producing company, The Prakash Pictures, then invited the President and the distinguished guests of the Parishad to their Andheri premises to a luncheon party. Shri K. M. MUNSHI spoke on the relationship between the litterateur and the film companies and how the same can be improved upon. Shri A. F. KHABARDAR thanked the Prakash Pictures for the luncheon party in suitable terms.

In the afternoon several essays were read before the audience of the Conference which were specially submitted by the students and scholars of Gujarati literature. Owing to want of time only the substance of some essays could be read. However, most of the important essays will be published in the volume of the Proceedings of the Conference.

The final session of the plenary conference took place at 3 p.m. on Sunday, October 5, 1941. Altogether six resolutions were passed. The first one recorded the great loss the literary world sustained in the death of Poet Rabindranath TAGORE and also in the deaths of Shri K. H. DHURVA (President of the second Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad), H. H. Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, Sir Prabhashanker P. PATTANI and several other Gujarati writers who had passed away during the period between the last Session held at Karachi and this one. Eloquent tributes were paid to the memory of the great departed.

It was further resolved to hold during the year Vikrama Samvat 1998 celebrations commemorating the thousandth anniversary of Mularaj Deva, the great Calukya Emperor of Gujarat, who was a pioneer in establishing the cultural greatness and unity of this province. These anniversary celebrations are proposed to be held throughout Gujarat.

By another resolution the Conference invited the Gujarati associations and institutions of greater Gujarat, that is, of the Gujarati speaking people domiciled outside the Province of Gujarat, to become associate-members of the Parishad so that concerted attempt may be made to remove their hardships and disabilities under the growing menace of provincialism and that proper care of the education of their children may be taken. The Conference asked the central body of the Parishad to study and investigate into this new-fangled but none the less important problem through a Representative Committee and also to undertake the publication of a periodic bulletin containing the news about Gujaratis domiciled in Maha-Gujarat. Other resolutions dwelt on the necessity of modifying the history courses of the University of Bombay in so far as the History of Gujarat was concerned, and on

the advisability of erecting a bust or of hanging an oil-painting of the late Dr. Bhagvanlal INDRAJI in Shri Hemachandracharya Memorial.

The session also took a thankful note of the services of Shri K. M. MUNSHI to the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in his having striven for the last 15 years to augment the reputation of the Parishad and to stabilise its continuity and growth. The President in his closing remarks stressed the necessity of carrying on literary schemes also during the intervening period of the bi-annual sessions.

On Monday, October 6, 1941, a dance-drama, "Jay Somnath," based on Shri K. M. MUNSHI'S famous novel of the same name was given at the Royal Opera House. It was, indeed, a new experiment in the histrionic art of Gujarat : several amateur artists with Shri Natraj VASHI and Shrimati Pravina MEHTA at their head presented the story of the historical novel in a dance form. Their dancing, exquisite dress and settings reminiscent of the past glory of Gujarat proved the effort to be highly successful and evoked spontaneous applause from the audience.

To sum up, the Fourteenth Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad is considered by the press and by eminent critics a very successful session. The Parishad has already undertaken, through the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, to publish a series of monographs—and four such volumes were announced to be published on the day of this session, so that Gujarati literature is expected to be greatly enriched. It is also maintaining a Chair of Gujarati literature in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Moreover, it will have its permanent office located in Shri Hemachandracharya Memorial. Thus, this session is an important milestone in the history of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad. Let us hope that the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad will increasingly help in the progress of all that is good and great for Gujarat, its life and literature.

## IN MEMORIAM

[Indology, it seems, is becoming poorer owing to the passing away of so many of its devotees in recent years. Almost the whole of the older generation of scholars has left, leaving us the heritage of their good work, which must serve as an abiding inspiration to posterity. We have to record in this issue, the deaths of the under-mentioned scholars. To all of them our grateful tribute is due.—EDITOR.]

### I—ACHARYA ANANDSHANKER DHURVA

“The Last of the Learned Brahmins of Gujarat”.

Acharya DHURVA's death has been to me a personal blow, for he was one of the best cherished friends of mine.

Acharya Anandshanker DHURVA was one of the great professors of our time and a great educationist. For many years he was the Professor of Sanskrit in the Gujarat College. When at the call of GANDHIJI he gave several years of his aging life to the Hindu University as its Pro-Vice-Chancellor he came to be accorded a high place among the men of learning in the country.

He was a member of the Baroda University Commission which the late Maharaja Saheb of Baroda appointed to examine the possibilities of a residential University in Baroda. It was then that as colleagues working together we developed a strong attachment for each other, which grew with years.

When he retired from Benares he became the living inspiration of all the institutions of higher learning in Ahmedabad, and it was under his advice and on the promise of his help that the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan came to be founded in Bombay.

He was a deep read and profound scholar. Sanskrit of course was his first love. He was recognised all over the country as a renowned Sanskritist, as a great authority even by the Pandits of Benares. Though his knowledge of Sanskrit was vast and deep his interests were wide. A study of the literature of the East and West was his life's predominant passion. He was as familiar with the latest production in English literature as with that in Gujarati and Sanskrit. He was as alive to the new thought in America as to the latest theory in the academies of India.

He was a thinker who viewed the problems of modern life with a rare sanity of outlook. The East and the West had been harmonised in him by a lifelong study of the literature and thought of both and purified by a devotion to those ideals which Aryan culture has so beautifully enshrined in Sanskrit literature.

Anandshanker DHURVA was one of the founders of modern Gujarati prose. *Sudarshana* and *Vasanti* which he edited for many years exercised a wholesome control over the literary output of Gujarat for over about two generations. His rich vocabulary, clear thinking and dignity of expression contributed in no small degree to the development of modern Gujarati prose. And his style today remains the high water mark of balanced purity and dignity attained by our language.

He was the President of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad at Nadiad, when, but for his steadying influence, the institution would have been wrecked. His presidential address too on the occasion was a brilliant summary of modern Gujarati literature.

In 1926 I had the honour of living with him for about a month as the guest of the Baroda Government. We came to live together, I confess, with certain prejudice against each other. He looked upon me as a stormy petrel in literature and

life ; and I looked upon him as a specimen of the old generation fast getting fossilised. But as, day after day, we lived together the prejudice on both sides was worn off. In spite of the disparity of our age we became close friends.

Acharya DHURVA was a wonderful companion. His sense of humour was exquisite. He rarely made a joke unless it was subtle and was possibly enshrined in a classical tale or an apt quotation. But he could enjoy it even at his own expense. He had the large-mindedness to appreciate what others would have liked to call levity. He could see and laugh at the absurd in life without malice or contempt. As a friend he was loyal, sympathetic and inspiring.

We discussed every problem under the sun and came to realise how through our diversity ran a unity of outlook and purpose. In his case it ran with the majesty and unruffled calm of the Ganges, in mine with the bubbling rapidity of a Kashmirian stream rushing lightly over perceptible rocks. But in both cases the waters were drawn from the unchangeable and splendrous heights of Aryan culture. Hence it was that I dedicated to him my novel *Bhagwan Kautilya*, the first architect of Indian unity who 2,400 years ago gave to our culture geographical basis and political unity.

The literary and scholastic achievements of Acharya DHURVA are nothing before his character and personality. If his style was balanced, his life was a marvel of balance, of a complete adjustment of the old and the new, of an outlook which had harmonised the ancient ideals with the most progressive modern needs. If he was an orthodox Brahmin in personal life he had a wide vision of modern problems and a due appreciation of the methods of solving them. In him deep scholarship was attuned to a life of service, and abstract thinking did not throw a pale cast of thought over the deep loyalty and warm affection with which he honoured his friends. He tried to live in complete harmony with his ideals and had succeeded in a measure given to few men.

If purity of life and subordination of the impulses to high ideals make for a Brahmin ; if a life devoted to literature and thought with incessant efforts to bring the wisdom of the past to the actual problems of life makes for a Brahmin ; if a living attempt to fuse what is best in the ancient with what is best in the modern life is the characteristic of a Brahmin ; if a constant endeavour to acquire a wide and many-sided vision in order to co-ordinate one's functions, attitudes, and impulses makes for a Brahmin ; if a deep love of ancient India, an earnest effort to acquire an intimacy with the Scriptures and literatures of India and a flaming desire to re-capture the secrets of Aryan culture for oneself and one's generation afresh makes a Brahmin, Anandshankerbhai was a Brahmin in the true sense ;—perhaps, the last of the great race of Brahmins which Gujarat has produced in modern times.

To me his death has been a personal loss. When he was in Bombay last, ailing seriously, I with my family went to see him. I had almost a feeling that we would not meet him again, and when we left I could not help telling my children : " Bow to him, for he is the last of the learned Brahmins of Gujarat."

K. M. MUNSHI

## II—MAHADEV DESAI

Shri Mahadev DESAI's sudden and untimely death has left a void which it is impossible to fill. He was known to millions as GANDHIJI'S secretary and constant companion and the editor of his weekly *Harijan*. For full twenty-five years, till the very end of his life, he served GANDHIJI, and through him the nation, with a devotion, ability and self-effacement all his own. There was not one cause, social or political, espoused by GANDHIJI, in which he did not interest himself and of which he did not make a deep study.

By his inborn humility, sweetness of temperament and charming manners, arising from a deep human sympathy and understanding, he won the love, affection and regard of everyone who came in contact with him. He had a large circle of friends even outside Congress circles, among all classes and communities, in India as well as abroad.

In the counsels of the Congress he occupied an important place. In recent years GANDHIJI entrusted him with a number of difficult political missions in every one of which he acquitted himself with the greatest credit. He was a lover of books, and a voracious reader, and he knew several languages. His interests extended over a very wide range of subjects.

He wrote English in a style that was simple and charming as well as elegant. He was one of the finest literary stylists in Gujarati.

In him GANDHIJI has lost a son, secretary and interpreter, the wife a devoted husband, the son a loving father, the Congress a faithful worker, and Gujarat and India one of the noblest of their sons. But he will live as one who loved and died for the Mother.

K. M. MUNSHI

### III—MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. SIR GANGANATH JHA, VIDYASĀGARA

(1872—1942 A.D.)

Dr. Ganganath JHA was an unrivalled authority on ancient Indian philosophy. He enriched Indology with his scholarly translation of several *Sūtras* and *Bhāṣyas* and other philosophical works. Seven works in Sanskrit, five in Hindi and Maithili, six in English are his independent contributions, while he has edited no less than 13 volumes in Sanskrit and English. But by far the most important of his work was the translation of various important Sanskrit works, numbering in all nineteen. Many a scholar has felt with Otto STRAUSS : "Without your works on *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya* and *Vedānta* I could not have written the humble contributions which you perhaps know by name." For many years he was editor of the *Indian Thought*. He rediscovered the system of Prabhākara. Almost upto the last day of his life, he continued his *Sarasvatī pūjā*, so that he became *kṛtākṛtya* by making a monumental contribution to Sanskrit scholarship.

Born in a noble śrōtriya family in Darbhanga (Behar) District, he had his śāstric studies in the time-honoured indigenous style and started life in the humble capacity of the librarian of the Raja of Darbhanga's library. There he not only kept the books but mastered them. By and by his unique scholarship won recognition and he was appointed the first Indian principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares. Wider recognition soon followed. He became the Vice-chancellor of the Allahabad University. The Benares Hindu University conferred on him the D. Litt. Degree and Government the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. Kinghood crowned the long list of honours. On the occasion of his 60th birthday a Volume of essays contributed by scholars from various parts of the world was presented to him.

No one has in recent years vindicated the claims of Indian scholarship among the learned societies of the world than this great Pundit who combined in himself profound learning and deep reverence for our ancient culture and philosophy with a marvellous faculty for interpreting them to the modern world. His learning and his intimacy with everything that is best in our philosophy and culture were re-

flected in his daily life, his purity of character, and the simplicity of his ways and his inveterate contempt for the advertising methods of modern life.

He leaves behind him a large circle of students and admirers. The mantle of the Vice-Chancellorship of the Allahabad University has fallen on the worthy shoulders of his son, Professor Amarnath JHA. Other sons also equally bright in the fields of law and education gave solace and happiness to an old age crowned with labour and glory.

M. P.

#### IV—CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN

(1850--1941 A.D.)

Professor Charles R. LANMAN was the *doyen* of Sanskritic studies in America and is best known as the founder-editor of the famous *Harvard Oriental Series*. He worked as a professor of Sanskrit at the Harvard University for more than fifty years during which time he not only trained many a would-be indologist but did everything he could towards furtherance of general interest in oriental scholarship by being associated with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Philosophical Association, the American Oriental Society, and other learned bodies. His best known work is *A Statistical Account of Noun-inflection in the Veda* (JAOS X, New Haven, 1878). Professor LANMAN travelled extensively and established contacts with fellow-scholars all over the world. I recall having spent three days with him on his last tour to Europe in 1928, when he paid a visit to his dear, life-long friend, the late Professor GELDNER at Marburg. From there we went to attend the annual session of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* held at Bonn. The memory of the time spent with this learned savant has often enlivened my dull moments. Great as he was as a scholar, he appeared to me to be greater in his human qualities.

M. P.

## REVIEWS

*The Archaeology of Gujarat (Including Kathiawar)*. By Prof. Dr. H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. Pages xvi + 268 + 109, with 7 maps, 41 plates and 78 illustrations. Published by Natwarlal & Co., Bombay. 1941. Price Rs. 15/-.

This book represents the thesis approved by the University of London for its Ph. D. degree. The aim of the author, as stated by him in the foreword, was "to study the entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarat and Kathiawar, specially with a view to correlating the monuments of both these regions with their epigraphy from the early historical times to the end of the 14th century." Dr. SANKALIA visited important monuments and collections of antiquities in museums to secure first-hand knowledge.

The book is divided into five parts containing twelve chapters. The first part deals with Geography and History, followed by Architecture and Structure in the next part. The third part treats of Cults and Iconography, while Epigraphy and Numismatics form the fourth part. The last part deals with Administration, Society, Religion and Culture. There are 13 Appendices covering 91 pages, and also an Index. The maps help to give a clear picture of the material discussed by the author.

The author has systematically collected and marshalled facts, the arrangement of the material is systematic, and the interpretations are sound and reasonable. The book is carefully written, well-documented and reliable, and is precise and free from repetition and unwarranted speculation. The chapters on Administration, Society and Religion are not strictly pertinent to the main body of the thesis; but they reveal the author's deep and accurate study.

The book professes to deal with prehistoric (really proto-historic according to Rev. Father HERAS) archaeology of Gujarat, and being interested in the civilization of the Indus Valley, I consulted the book particularly with a view to learn about the pre-historic sites of Gujarat. The author, however, furnishes nothing beyond a brief reference to the works of Bruce FOOTE, VATS, GHURYE and SASTRI. Pre-historic sites such as Rangpur, Amreli, etc., and the fact of the finds of ancient *padmas* in Cutch should have been dealt with, as also the relation and co-ordination of the Indus Valley Culture with that of Gujarat and Kathiawar. With regard to "*Amalaka*" (p. 62) which the author takes to mean pure stone and which according to the author is unknown to various books on architecture and *Purāṇas*, I may state that Prof. PISHAROTI has shown that the term is known both as "*Amalaka*" and "*Āmalaka*," and represents the coping stone (*COJ*, I, 189-196). It is not correct that *Śivarātri* is the birth date of Śiva (p. 242).

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. The plates, however, mar the beauty of the whole book, and are far from satisfactory being obscure in most places, and hence useless for a scientific study.

Dr. SANKALIA deserves to be congratulated on the production of this excellent and valuable work which would render invaluable assistance to workers in the field. It is to be hoped that his example will be emulated in preparing similar regional archaeologies for different provinces.

A. D. PUSALKER.

*Introduction to Textual Criticism* by Dr. S. M. KATRE, M.A., PH.D., with Appendix II by P. K. GODE, M.A. Demy 8vo Pp. xiii, 148. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. 1942, Price Rs. 3/8-.

The editing of texts based upon sound principles of scientific criticism is a recognized necessity for any organised research in literature; it is the more so in

our country, where the differences between manuscripts of the same work are often so much that at times it is even difficult to identify them. With interpolations and emendations, intentional and accidental, spread over thousands of years it is very difficult to get at the correct version of the original work. Some of the European works on textual criticism give a few hints, but they take into account only the European conditions where the literary tradition has been better preserved. As the author remarks in the Preface, "the critical edition of our Great Epic, the *Mahābhārata*, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has shown that the science of textual criticism as developed by Europeans does not solve all our problems and that certain adaptations are necessary for our conditions. The aim of the present Introduction is to show with reference to Indian conditions the principal features of the science of textual criticism in so far as it is a science, and thus enable future editors to master the modern methods of critical editing."

Dr. KATRE has eminently succeeded in this object. In the Introduction he gives a short account of the various kinds of materials used for writing and a general history of the textual transmission in our country. In the next five chapters he deals with the different kinds of texts, some fundamental aspects of textual criticism, the problem of critical recension, causes of corruption in a transmitted text, the emendation, and some canons of textual criticism. The last chapter is devoted to practical hints on the editing of texts. Then follow three Appendices. The first one contains a glossary of some important terms used in textual criticism, and the third aims at giving a brief information regarding some important manuscripts and critical editions. All this is done by Dr. KATRE in his usual clear and scholarly manner.

Appendix II presents a note, prepared by Professor P. K. GODE, on the history and progress of cataloguing of Sanskrit and other *Mss.* in India and abroad (between A.D. 1800 and 1941). A chronological list of catalogues is also included herein. Prof. GODE makes a strong appeal—and we join him in doing so—to the present custodians of *Mss.* collections in India to concentrate their resources and attention on the cataloguing of their *Mss.* in general and preparing their descriptive catalogues in particular. For, "all research in Indology depends on these *Mss.* and the earlier we exploit these decaying sources of our history and culture the better for the enrichment of our literature and history."

The work is very helpful as a handbook of Textual Criticism for Indian classical texts. We recommend it strongly to those who would learn the proper methods of critical editing.

MANILAL PATEL

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*Citrasena-Padmāvatīcaritra*, ed. Mul. Raj JAIN, M.A., LL.B., Jain Vidya Bhavan, Krishnanagar, Lahore, 1942, pp. 30+63; price one rupee and four annas.

*Citrasena Padmāvatīcaritra* is a short romance, by Buddhivijaya, dealing with the story of Citrasena and Padmāvatī. The power and the value of *Sīla*, which is the second of the four constituents of Jain religion are briefly illustrated therein.

The author of this short poem is Buddhivijaya who, as the editor says, flourished by about the last quarter of the 16th century A.D. and the first quarter of the 17th century A.D. It is in Sanskrit interspersed with Prakrit verses. (See especially verses 34, 58, 73 and 311). The total number of verses is 564. The metre employed is, largely, *Anuṣṭubh* and at times *Upendravajrā*. In the text, we come across not very striking *subhāṣitas*. It must be said that the poem is not a first-rate composition.

In the Introduction, the editor has given a sketch of the critical apparatus used by him, a synopsis of the poem, something regarding the author and the



linguistic characteristics of the poem. It is, no doubt, well edited and the editor deserves our thanks; but there are some such mistakes of the printing as *Padmas-thobhavat* (v. 70), etc. Looking to the importance and the bulk of the booklet, the price is rather high.

A. S. GOPANI.

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*Prthvirājavijaya of Jayānaka, with the commentary of Jonarāja*, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Sāhityavācaspati Dr. Gaurishankar H. OJHA, D. Litt. (Hony.), and the late Pandit Candradhar Sarmā GULERI, B.A., Pages 4 + 11 + 314. Ajmer, 1941. Price Rupees 5.

This is one of the few historical Kāvya in Sanskrit, and deals with the historical events of the reign of Prthvirāja Chowhān. The historical value of this poem in preference to *Prthvirājarāsa* of Canda has been established by Dr. BÜHLER on the strength of inscriptional evidence. The work gives us a reliable account, with an admixture of legendary element, of Prthvirāja's ancestors giving us the history of 8th—12th cent. A.D.

The text is based on the only MS hitherto available, which was discovered by Dr. BÜHLER in Kashmir in 1876. The MS is defective and incomplete, breaking off abruptly towards the close of the 12th Canto, bringing the account only up to the coronation of Prthvirāja. It is to be regretted that the subsequent Canto dealing with Prthvirāja's victory, the real theme of the poem, are unhappily lost. No other MS has yet come to light.

The author of the poem seems to have been a contemporary of Prthvirāja and his court-poet. The commentary is by Jonarāja who is assigned to the 15th century. The commentary is also lost at places, but it has been useful in restoring the text.

It may be recalled that Dr. BELVALKAR has edited part of *Prthvirājavijaya* for the Bibliotheca Indica (No. 228), and the work is incomplete. To a student of Bhāsa, *Prthvirājavijaya* and its commentary are of special interest, for they record the tradition of Bhāsa's works having survived the fire-ordeal in preference to Vyāsa. There are a number of Alamkāras in the 5th Canto. The alliterations on pp. 15, 101-102, 145, 187 are worthy of note.

The difficulties of the editor working on a single MS. can best be imagined by those to whose lot such a task falls. We are glad to find that the learned editors have acquitted themselves creditably. Not only has the text been restored with the help of the commentary but many valuable emendations have been suggested both in the text and the commentary. The exhaustive *Viśayānukramāṇī* will prove helpful to scholars. It would have been better had the veteran Mahāmahopādhyāya dealt with the historical aspects of the poem in the Introduction. There is no index which is a serious drawback.

It is indeed a pleasure to see that Mm. Dr. OJHA, despite the burden of years is producing fresh valuable material. We earnestly pray that the old revered scholar may enjoy the full span of a hundred years full of health and happiness. The book will be valuable especially to students of Rajput history.

A. D. PUSALKER.

*Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahā-kośa*, Vols. I-II. Prepared and published by Shastri Gajanan Shamabhu SADHALE, 1940-41, pp. 24 + 352 ; 8 + 353-724. Price Rs. 14/- for the set. The Gujarat. Printing Press, Fort, Bombay.

The two volumes of the *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahā-Kośa* contain a sentence-concordance to 223 *Upaniṣads*, some of them at present being available only in a manuscript form. More than fifty years have elapsed since the publication of Col. JACOB'S well-known *Upaniṣad Vākya Kośa* which covered 46 *Upaniṣads* only and which is now long out of print. The veteran SADHALE Shastri, in spite of his having crossed the age of the proverbial three scores and ten, has spared no pains in making the *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahā-Kośa* as complete as humanly possible, so that it may be of the greatest help in tracing the sources of the Upaniṣadic quotations now lying scattered in the vast philosophical literature of India. It is to be hoped that an alphabetical index of important words and phrases will be added to the second edition of the *Mahā-Kośa*.

A set of these two volumes is bound to be of the greatest help to all Indologists.

MANILAL PATEL.

## NOTES OF THE BHAVAN

[In this section a connected account of the activities of the various Departments of the *Bhavan* will be given in each issue of the Journal.—Ed.]

### Seventh Session

(November 1941 to May 1942)

The BHAVAN began the new session in its own new buildings. The staff members continued their post-graduate classes in Sanskrit, Ardha-magadhi, Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Gujarati, as usual, under the auspices of the University of Bombay, besides working on their own research undertakings.

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We give below the list of the lectures delivered in the seventh series of the Extension Lectures on Indian Culture.

DATE	LECTURER	SUBJECT
Feb. 2. 1942	Shri A. S. GOPANI	"Omens and Portents—A comparative study."
Feb. 9. 1942	Shri S. D. GYANI	"Mahāpurāṇas—A critical study."
Feb. 16. 1942	Shri H. G. PANDYA	"Some Novels in Guj. Literature." (in Gujarati).
Feb. 23. 1942	Shri Sushila MEHTA	Shri Madhvācārya (in Gujarati).
Mar. 2. 1942	Shri D. K. SHASTRI	"Upanishadic doctrine and Bhagavata doctrine."
Mar. 9. 1942	Dr. A. D. PUSALKER	"Indus Civilization."
Mar. 16. 1942	Shri S. D. GYANI	"Hindi Poetry and Muslim Poets."
Mar. 23. 1942	Shri P. C. SHAH	"Yoga Philosophy—its origin and development."
Apr. 13. 1942	Dr. Manilal PATEL	"Society in the Upanishadic age."

Dr. PATEL also delivered a lecture on "some Upanishadic doctrines" before the Sanskrit Association of the Ramnarayan Ruia College, Bombay.

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The annual General Meeting of the Members of the BHAVAN was held on February 15, 1942. The Secretaries presented before the Meeting the Annual Report and the statements of the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet as on December 31, 1941 duly audited by the BHAVAN'S auditors, Messrs Jayantilal Thakkar & Co., 111, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay. The General Meeting then appointed the under-mentioned Executive Committee for the year 1942.

#### PRESIDENT

Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.

#### VICE-PRESIDENT

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. DIVATIA, M.A., LL.B.

## TREASURERS

Shri Pranlal Devkaran NANJEE, J.P.

Shri Vasanthram Jamietram Vakil, B.A., LL.B., J.P.

## SECRETARIES

Shri Tricumdas DWARKADAS, Solicitor.

Dr. Manilal PATEL, PH.D.

## MEMBERS

Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. JHAVERI.

Shri Munglal N. GOENKA.

Sir Chunilal B. MEHTA, KT.

Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. SETALVAD.

Shri Haragovandas JIVANDAS.

Shri Jinavijayaji MUNI.

Shri Umadutt NEMANI.

Shri Chatrabhuj GORDHANDAS.

Shri Sangji SUNDERJI.

Shri Chimanlal C. SHAH.

Shri Thakordas N. MERCHANT.

Shri Prabhashanker R. BHATT.

Moreover, the Executive Committee has co-opted the under-mentioned gentlemen as Members of the Executive Committee under Art. No. 19 of the *Rules and Regulations* :

- (i) Shri Hemchand Mohanlal JHAVERI.
- (ii) Shri Ramdeo A. PODAR.
- (iii) Shri Megji Mathradas TOPRANI.
- (iv) Shri Dharamsey M. KHATAU.

Shri K. M. MUNSHI delivered the following Presidential Address :—

"I am sure you will be pleased with the progress of the BHAVAN in spite of the financial struggle it is passing through. This is the third annual meeting of your Society.

This year has seen the BHAVAN housed in a home of its own, which with equipment will cost us about Rs. 2,20,000. During this period the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, as also the memorial of that great scholar of all times, Shri Hemachandra-charya, has come to be associated with it. It had eight professors and teachers, four fellows, three post-graduate scholars and twelve students studying for Oriental degree examinations of Benares and Calcutta.

The research and publication work connected with the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad was being done, and in future will be done, through the BHAVAN.

The deficit in the building fund is almost made up, thanks to the generosity of some friends of the BHAVAN including several members of the Committee. The deficit in the current expenditure however stands. From next June we will have to raise funds to maintain forty more students. When that is done we would have sixty students going up either for the Oriental Degree Examinations or for the post-graduate degrees of the Bombay University. All this means greater effort on your part. But I have faith : this is the work of God : a task faithfully done has never wanted men or means to help it.

Our material progress is small compared to the non-material one. First we have begun the great and laborious work of *Purāṇic* research which, when completed, will help towards the re-appreciation of our ancient culture built up during the last 2,500 years. *Paumacariyam*, the Prakrit version of the *Rāmāyana* according to

the Jains is being critically studied. The immediate objects of study are the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the History in the *Purāṇas*. Research is being conducted in Vedic literature, Yoga and Arthashastra; in Jain studies; in Prakritic literature and Gujarati. A work on Indian culture in Hindi is also ready. And had it not been for want of funds we would have been able to publish by now more of the results we have achieved. For the moment, however we must rest content with what little we are doing. But let me hope that someone will spare us the money that we need for our Publication Department. And a little press of our own is one of the things which we badly need.

At the same time it must be realised that if the BHAVAN is to take its appropriate place in the life of the country it should undertake activities which would spread the ideals and outlook for which *Bhāratiya Vidyā* stands. I am at present investigating the possibility of our holding examinations in short courses in Indian culture and a series of popular lectures to prepare the students for them. When the scheme is ready I shall submit it to the Committee for its consideration.

Efforts at scaling the upper reaches of learning are not easy. The ordinary man thinks it to be a waste. The man gifted with generosity is impatient to reap a speedy harvest of the financial seeds he sows. But neither can learned men be produced as rapidly as bricks nor learning burn bright as swiftly as the flame struck by a match-stick on the wall.

The learning of India is a mighty fabric being woven by myriad hands through countless generations. He who hopes to spin a few yards for it has to qualify himself humbly, through ceaseless effort, for the great task. But every little effort will help in the work before us of handing it down to posterity with a texture as fresh as at its beginning, with a beauty which it never knew before.

*Bhāratiya Vidyā*, do not forget, stands for the Indian culture, to which we are heirs. Today it may be, as I once wrote, the dreams of forty million slaves. But as a supreme effort of the human mind it stands above and beyond the shifting scenes of centuries as the only source of human dignity, as the only hope of man. If in this generation we can train some men to appreciate its grandeur and perceive its truth, we would not have toiled in vain.

May I, before closing, thank the Hon'ble Mr. Justice DIVATIA, Dewan Bahadur JHAVERI and other colleagues on the Committee, the many generous friends who have for the last three years helped the BHAVAN with money, help and guidance? Our indefatigable Director, Dr. Manilal PATEL, Shri Jinavijayaji MUNI and Shri Durgashankar SHASTRI; our young friends whose enthusiasm has enabled the BHAVAN to achieve its work; and its many other friends who have watched its progress with solicitude—all these have contributed to its success. May I in this connection also mention two names, of a father and son, of Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD, K.C.I.E., who was the first to help me to translate the idea of the BHAVAN into shape, and of Shri Motilal SETALVAD, the Advocate-General, who has also taken as keen an interest in the progress of the Institution. An effort is also made to interest the Government of Bombay in the development of our activities."

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From among those who paid a visit to the BHAVAN, particular mention be made of Shri J. A. MADAN, I.C.S., Advisor to the Governor of Bombay, Shri S. N. MOOS, M.A., I.E.S., Pundit SATAVALKAR, and Shastri M. S. DIVEKAR. Shastri DIVEKAR delivered a course of sermons on Hindu Dharma before the students of the Pathashalas.





